

THE WIT AND WISDOM
OF QUEEN BESS

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

THE PRIVATE CHARACTER
OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

THE SAYINGS
OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

THE BODLEY HEAD

THE WIT AND WISDOM OF QUEEN BESS

BY

FREDERICK CHAMBERLIN

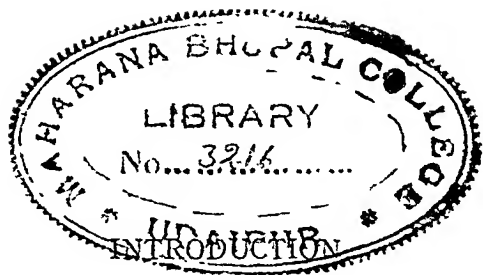
LL.B., M.R.I., F.R.HIST.S., F.S.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S.

LONDON

JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD LTD.

First published in 1925

Made and Printed in Great Britain
T and A Cox 1925 LTD Printers Edinburgh



EVER since the appearance of *The Sayings of Queen Elizabeth* there has been such an insistent demand for a pocket collection of the Great Queen's words, that it has been decided that such a work no longer should be delayed.

Many reviewers of the larger work hailed it as the best biography of Elizabeth, and it seems to me to give a more vivid picture of her than anything else, because it is made entirely by her own strokes. She was one of those people who never speak until they have something to say, and then speak like a gatling gun. Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey, in his review of the book in the *Spectator*, said it was one which "will give inspiration and delight to the whole English-speaking world."

If there be solid foundation for such encomiums, properly they may be extended to this smaller collection, for it follows the predecessor in its aims. No mood of "the Englishwoman"—as Elizabeth was always referred to on the Continent during her lifetime—is missing, and now, at an expense of five shillings and an hour's time, all may see what she has to say for herself.

Nobody can afford to be ignorant of the broad lines of this extraordinary creature. More than all others combined she is the founder of the eminence of England in every endeavour in which eminence has come to her, for the country was distinguished in no particular when she took charge of it. In forty-five years she had made it the foremost country of the globe in war, in government, in the drama, in poesy, in music, in scholarship in architecture, in horticulture. The minute death forced her to lay down the torch it went out, and never since has England risen in any branch to the heights scaled by those of Elizabeth's reign, and for no other reason than that Elizabeth was no longer on the throne.

Such a woman should be studied by all—but especially by her own people, for a more English person than Elizabeth never lived; and besides this she is unique in all the ample page of time—and yet how like us all!

A more human person than the Great Queen as she bursts out of these pages cannot be found.

FREDERICK CHAMBERLIN

VILLA BELLA VISTA,
EL TERRENO PALMA DE MALLORCA
21st May 1925

THE WIT AND WISDOM
OF QUEEN BESS

THE WIT AND WISDOM OF QUEEN BESS

To her guard who forced her, against her vehement protest, to land at the Traitors' Gate of the Tower ;
1554, æt. 20 :

Here lands as true a subject, being prisoner,
as ever landed at these stairs. Before thee, O
God, I speak it, having no other friend but
thee alone !

Written by her in an edition of the Epistles of St. Paul
while imprisoned at Woodstock, after leaving the
Tower. This castle was then in the grounds of
the present Blenheim. The book is still to be seen
at the Bodleian at Oxford :

August.—I walk many times into the pleasant
fields of the Holy Scriptures, where I pluck up
the goodlisome herbes of sentences by pruning,
eat them by reading, chew them by musing, and
lay them up at length in the high seat of
memorie, by gathering them together, that so
having tasted their sweetness I may the less
perceive the bitterness of this miserable life.

Written by her with a diamond on a glass window of
Woodstock during her detention there

Much suspected of me,
Nothing proved can be
Quoth Elizabeth prisoner

To her judges upon their assumption of office, 1559,
act. 25

Have a care over my people You have my
people—do you that which I ought to do They
are my people Every man oppresseth and
spoileth them without mercy They cannot
revenge their quarrel nor help themselves
See unto them—see unto them for they are my
charge I charge you even as God hath charged
me I care not for myself my life is not dear
to me My care is for my people I pray God
whoever succeedeth me be as careful of them
as I am

To the Recorder of Warwick, as she entered the town
on her way to visit Leicester at Kenilworth. The
official had just completed an extremely long
oration in which he had given her plenty of advice

Come hither little recorder it was told to me
that you would be afraid to look upon me or to
speak boldly but you were not so afraid of me

as I was of you, and I now thank you for putting me in mind of my duty and what should be in me.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg ;
1564, æt. 30 :

There is nothing about which I am more anxious than my country, and for its sake I am willing to die ten deaths, if that be possible.

To those about her :

I shall lend credit to nothing against my people which parents would not believe against their own children.

To Stafford :

My mortal foe can no ways wish me a greater harm than England's hate ; neither should death be less welcome unto me than such a mishap betide me.

To her army upon which she had to rely for defence if the Armada landed its troops ; she is addressing them on the hill at Tilbury. She was on a horse, attended only by Leycester, who was commander-in-chief, and the Earl of Ormond, who bore the great sword of State before her. Behind him a page carried her white-plumed helmet. On her

breast the Queen wore a glittering steel corslet, while in her hand she carried a marshal's baton. She expressly forbade her retinue to be present, and thus, alone, approaching the men of that army which was her sole defence if the Spaniards could land, she must have thrilled them as nothing else could have done. It is one of the greatest scenes of all history. To make such a personal appeal to Englishmen was a stroke of genius—and her speech itself is a second one.

My loving people —We have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes for fear of treachery, but I do assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear. I have always so behaved myself that under God I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects and therefore I am come amongst you as you see at this time not for my recreation and disport but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle to live or die amongst you all—to lay down for my God and for my kingdoms and for my people my honour and my blood even in the dust. I know I have

the body of a weak, feeble woman ; but I have the heart and stomach of a king—and of a King of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm ; to which, rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms—I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, for your forwardness, you have deserved rewards and crowns, and, we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. For the meantime, my Lieutenant General [Leycester] shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject ; not doubting but by your obedience to my General, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over these enemies of my God, of my kingdom and of my people.

To the crowd on the Strand, on returning by torchlight from a Council meeting after the Armada :

Ye may have a greater prince, but ye shall never have a more loving prince.

To the Swedish Ambassador, who was threatening her of the dangers ahead if she did not marry his master

I have the heart of a man, not a woman, and I am not afraid of anything

To the Prince of Parma commanding the Spanish armies in the Netherlands who had been making peace overtures to her

Every week I see advertisements and letters from Spain that this year shall witness the downfall of England for the Spaniards—like the hunter who divided with great liberality, among his friends the body and limbs of the wolf before it had been killed—have partitioned this kingdom and that of Ireland before the conquest has been effected But my royal heart is no what appalled by such threats I trust with the help of the divine hand—which has thus far miraculously preserved me—to smite all these braggart powers into the dust and to preserve my honour and the kingdoms which He has given me for my heritage

To the Prince of Parma

Do not suppose that I am seeking what belongs to others God forbid I seek only that

which is mine own. But be sure that I will take good heed of the sword which threatens me with destruction, nor think that I am so craven-spirited as to endure a wrong, or to place myself at the mercy of my enemy.

To the French Ambassador :

The King of Spain is daily making offers of peace and friendship, but I shall not listen to them, knowing his ambition ; on the contrary, I have sent Drake to ravage his coasts, and am considering sending the Earl of Leycester to Holland to show that I am not afraid of war.

To some one now unknown :

A fig for Spain so long as Royston will afford such plenty of good malts !

To the Archbishop of St. Andrews, to whom she was vituperatively declaiming on the death of Morton and the schemes of Mary Queen of Scots and her son James, finally disposing of them all with :

I am more afraid of making a fault in my Latin than of the Kings of Spain, France, Scotland, the whole House of Guise, and all of their confederates.

To the French Ambassador, who was accusing her of assisting Navarre against his master :

I am not assisting the King of Navarre against the King of France, but against the House of Guise, who are his foes, and are leagued with the King of Spain and the Prince of Parma, who after they effect his ruin mean to attack me, but I shall be ready to repel them, and I shall not relinquish my hold on the Low Countries nor, by God ! will I suffer either the King of Spain or Guise to mock this poor old woman, who, in my female form carries the heart of a man

To Fénelon, who had brought to her as a gift from the Queen of Scots three nightcaps wrought in the finest needlework by her own hands. The Council had made a great deal of opposition when Elizabeth had some months earlier accepted similar presents from the same source. The nightcaps were left on the hands of the Ambassador for some weeks, but at last Elizabeth accepted them, with this speech

Tell the Queen of Scots that I am older than she is and when people arrive at my age [*at* 41] they take all they can get with both hands, and only give with the little finger

To Sir Thomas Smith and Dr. Wilson, who had custody of Barker and Banister, two of the servants of the Duke of Norfolk, who was under surveillance for intriguing with Mary Queen of Scots ; 1571, æt. 38 :

If they shall not seem to you to confess plainly their knowledge, then we warrant you to cause them both, or either of them, to be brought to the rack ; and first to move them with fear thereof, to deal plainly in their answers ; and if that shall not move them, then you shall cause them to be put to the rack, *and to find the taste thereof*, until they shall deal more plainly, or until you shall think meet.

To Sussex after the collapse of the rebellion on the Scottish border headed by Northumberland and others :

We do marvel that we have heard of no execution by martial law, as was appointed, of the meaner sort of rebels in the North. If the same be not already done, you are to proceed thereunto, for the terror of others, with expedition and to certify us of your doing therein. We understand that some in those parts, in this hour of service, have remained at home, or

shown great slackness in our service, having brethren or children with the rebels ; have an earnest regard to such, and spare no offenders in that case

To her leaders in Ireland who had proposed to execute out of hand a poor wretch they had already tortured by pouring hot resin into his boots :

The man being so notorious and ill a subject the lords justices should proceed to his execution by ordinary trial first, but if you find the effect of that course doubtful, through the affection of such as shall be of the jury, or the interpretations of the lawyers, or the Statute of Treasons, you may then take the shorter way For what is past (that is, the torturing) I accept in good part your careful travail, and greatly commend your doings

To Sir William Drury, Keeper of the Tower of London

Herle is to be kept as straightly and secretly as possible, and to be examined on certain articles sent herewith, and let him looke to be racked to all extremity if he will conceal the truth, and, contrarywise, will be pardoned with favour if he will freely confess

To her Court, speaking of Morgan, the Welsh Catholic fanatic, whose hatred of her was so great that he plotted her assassination. He it was who headed the Babington conspiracy which led to the necessity for the death of Mary Queen of Scots :

I will give ten thousand pounds for his head !

To Burghley, when he was sixty-six and she fifty-four :

I have been strong enough to lift you out of the dirt, and I am still able to cast you down again.

To the Duc de Biron, who had come from France on a special mission with an embassy of over 400 of the first families of that country. Elizabeth took him by the hand—he was then a very troublesome subject of the King of France and soon lost his life through his machinations—and pointed to over 300 heads on pikes on London Bridge, saying :

It is thus we punish traitors in England.

To Francis Bacon, upon the appearance of Hayward's "History of Henry IV. of England," which was dedicated to Essex, who was then in the depths of his disgrace over Ireland. Taking the book in parts to be a cloaked attack upon her government, she sent Hayward to prison, saying to Bacon :

Cannot you find something in the book that

may be construed into treason? I want him put to the rack to see whether he is the author or not!

To a delegation of eighteen tailors

Good morning gentlemen both

To Leycester commanding in the Netherlands

It frets me not a little that the poor soldier that hourly ventures life should want their due that well deserve rather reward and look in whom the fault may duly be proved, let them smart therefor And if the Treasurer be found untrue or negligent according to desert he shall be used though you know my old wont, that love not to discharge from office without desert, God forbid

To some person unknown

I have a cavalry regiment whereof neither horse nor man can be injured my regiment, namely of tailors on mares

To Lord Herbert of Cherbury upon seeing him for the first time kneeling in her Court, as she was passing to her chapel in Whitehall Palace. She had stopped to inquire about him from an attendant,

who reported that the new-comer was the son-in-law of a well-known peer. She thereupon gave him her hand twice to kiss, each time gently patting him on the cheek, saying to an attendant :

God's death ! It is pity he married so young !

To Stanhope, one of her private chamber, after she had circumvented a scheme of Burghley to get some of his friends precedence in the nobility by securing their appointment before others at the same audience. Burghley had arranged the seven to be knighted so that his friends would be first in the hall as the Queen entered. She learned of the plan, passed the entire length of the room without knighting any of the kneeling candidates, until of a sudden she paused and said she had forgotten what she came for, and at once knighted first those then nearest at hand—the very ones Burghley had meant to be last. Stanhope whispered to her : “Your Majesty was too fine for my Lord Burghley.” But her reply was :

Nay !—I have but fulfilled the Scripture :
“The first shall be last, and the last first.”

To de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador, who had told her that the Pope had a very exalted idea of her ability :

I think he and I should get married !

To Dr Humphreys, leader of the Puritans, as he was about to kiss her hand on her visit to Oxford, 1566, æt. 37

Mr Doctor that loose gown becomes you so well I wonder your notions should be so narrow

To her attendants when sending Man, Dean of Gloucester, as Ambassador to Philip II. of Spain, whose Ambassador to her was Gorman de Silva

King Philip has sent a Gooseman to me, and I, in return have sent a Man to him not a whit better than a goose

To her ladies, with respect to a man by the name of Noel, who was always in debt

The word of denial and letter of fifty

Is that gentleman's name that will never be thrifty
[No and L]

On dismissing Parliament, 1593, æt. 60

It may be thought simplicity in me that all this time of my reign I have not sought to advance my territories and enlarge my dominions, for opportunity hath served me to do it I acknowledge my womanhood and weakness in that respect But it hath not been the hardness to obtain or doubt how to keep the things

so obtained, that only hath withheld me from these attempts. My mind was never to invade my neighbours, or to usurp over any. I am contented to reign over mine own, and to rule as a just Prince. Yet the King of Spain doth challenge me to be the quarreller, and the beginner of all these wars. He doth me the greatest wrong that can be ; for my conscience doth not accuse my thoughts wherein I have done him the least injury ; so that I am persuaded in my conscience, if he knew what I know, he would be sorry himself for the wrong he hath done me. I fear not all his threatenings. His great preparations and mighty forces do not stir me. For though he come against me with the greatest power that ever was—his invincible navy—I doubt not but (God assisting me, upon whom I always trust) I shall be able to defeat him and overthrow him. For my cause is just. I heard say when he attempted his last invasion, some upon the seacoasts forsook their towns and fled up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance. But I swear unto you by God, if I knew those persons, or may know of any that shall do so hereafter, I will

make them know and feel what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a cause

To Heusege with respect to her fury at Leycester for disobeying her in the Netherlands by accepting the supreme power there

We perceive by your letters that if the same [the command to Leycester to renounce publicly his office in the same place in which he had accepted it] had been executed according to our first purpose it would have wrought some dangerous alteration in the state there and utterly overthrown the reputation and credit of our cousin [Leycester] no less prejudicial to our service than the utter defacing and overthrow of one whom we ourselves have raised up and have always found as greatly devoted to our service as ever sovereign found any subject. Though in his late proceeding touching the absolute government he did greatly forget himself yet we would never have proceeded against him so severely had not our honour been touched. We are well persuaded that this offence and error grew not out of any evil meaning toward us whose service we know he doth prefer even before his own life. And although we have

assured him so much, by our own letters, directed to him, yet we think meet you should labour, by all means, to comfort him. . . . You have been an eye-witness of the great love we have always borne him above any subject we have, and therefore you can easily guess the grief we should conceive if he should miscarry. We doubt not therefore that you will leave nothing undone that may salve his wounded mind, and repair his credit, if you find the same decayed.

To the Countess of Shrewsbury, who entertained Leicester when he went to the baths of Buxton for treatment for the gout. This is one of the best extant examples of the Queen's lighter style. It will be better appreciated when it is said that Leicester was an extremely hearty eater and drinker:

RIGHT TRUSTY,—Being given to understand from our cousin, the Earl of Leicester, how honourably he was lately received and used by you, our cousin the Countess at Chatsworth, and how his diet is by you both discharged at Buxton, we should do him great wrong holding him in that place in our favour in which we do, in

case we should not let you understand in how thankful sort we accept the same at your hands —which we do not acknowledge to be done unto him but to our own self, and therefore do mean to take upon us the debt and to acknowledge you both as our creditors so as you can be content to accept us for debtor, wherein is the danger unless you cut off some part of the large allowance of diet you give him, lest otherwise the debt thereby may grow to be so great as we shall not be able to discharge the same, and so become bankrupt. And therefore we think it for the saving of our credit meet to prescribe unto you a proportion of diet which we mean in no case you shall exceed and that is to allow him by the day for his meat two ounces of flesh, referring the quality to yourselves, so as you exceed not the quantity and for his drink the twentieth part of a pint of wine to comfort his stomach, and as much of St Anne's sacred water as he listeth to drink. On festival days, as is meet for a man of his quality, we can be content you shall enlarge his diet by allowing unto him for his dinner the shoulder of a wren, and for his supper a leg of the same, besides his ordinary

ounces. The like proportion we mean you shall allow to our brother of Warwick, saving that we think it meet that in respect that his body is more replete than his brother's, that the wren's leg allowed at supper on festival days be abated, for that light supper agreeth best with rules of physic. This order our meaning is you shall inviolably observe, and so may you right well assure yourselves of a most thankful debtor to so well deserving a creditor.

To Leycester in command of her forces in the Netherlands :

For Norreys and other captains that voluntarily and without commandment have many years ventured their lives and our nation honour and themselves fame [see that they] be not discouraged by any means, neither by new come men nor by old trained soldiers elsewhere.

To her godson, Harrington, accompanying a copy of the speech she intended to deliver at the opening of the 1575 Parliament. He was about fourteen at this time. With such a letter as this in our possession, it is no wonder to us of these late days that Elizabeth could attach young men to her for all their lives, as she did in this instance. Think of the strain and stress there was upon her time—

and yet she would take the trouble to send this to a small boy!

BOY JACK —I have made a clerk write fair my poor words for thine use as it cannot be such striplings have entrance into parliament as yet Ponder them in thy hours of leisure and play with them till they enter thine understanding, so shalt thou hereafter perchance find some good fruits thereof when thy godmother is out of remembrance and I do this because thy father was ready to serve and love us in trouble and thrall

To a courtier who in a loud voice had asked before the whole Court for the release of four or five prisoners 1559 æt. 25. He was asked who they were His reply was "The four evangelists and the apostle St. Paul who had been long shut up in an unknown tongue as it were in prison, so that they could not converse with the common people." Elizabeth replied in all solemnity

It is best first to enquire of them whether they approve of being released or not

Rebus on the name of Raleigh

The bane of the stomach and the word of disgrace

Is the name of the gentleman with the bold face

To Fénelon, in discussing the terms of the proposed marriage treaty between her and Alençon, the French royal prince of seventeen, while she was thirty-nine :

What do I get in the way of compensation in these marriage articles for the damage to Alençon's face done by the small-pox ?

To Raleigh, who, while the Queen was looking at him, had written on her window pane with a diamond :
"Fain would I climb, but that I fear to fall," she with her own gem instantly answered by writing these words under his own :

If thy heart fail thee do not climb at all !

To Raleigh, after paying him the wager that he could not determine the weight of smoke emitted from a pipeful of tobacco :

I have known many persons who turned their gold into smoke, but you are the first to turn smoke into gold.

To those who asked that she allow Sir Philip Sidney to ascend the throne of Poland :

I cannot afford to part with the choicest jewel of my court.

To the officials of King's, Cambridge, at the end of her entertainment there

If there were greater provision of beer and ale
I should remain until Friday! [Three days more]

To the Earl of Bedford when sending him with a baptismal font of gold for the christening of the son of Mary Queen of Scots

If you find it is too small you may observe that our sister has only to keep it for the next

To the kneeling House of Commons on dissolving Parliament in 1601 the last time she ever addressed such a body

Though God hath raised me high, yet thus I count the glory of my crown That I have reigned with your loves

I know the title of a king is a glorious title but assure yourselves that the shining glory of princely authority hath not so dazzled the eyes of our understanding but that we will know and remember that we also are to yield an account of our actions before the great Judge

To be a king and wear a crown is more glorious

to them that see it than it is pleasure to them that bear it.

For myself, I was never so much enticed with the glorious name of a King, or royal authority of a Queen, as delighted that God hath made me this instrument to maintain His truth and glory, and to defend this kingdom (as I said) from peril, dishonour, tyranny and oppression.

There will never Queen sit in my seat with more zeal to my country, care to my subjects, and that will sooner with willingness yield and venture her life for your good and safety than myself. And though you have had and may have many princes more mighty and wise sitting in this seat, yet you never had or shall have any that will be more careful and loving. Should I ascribe anything to myself as to my sexly weakness, I were not worthy to live then and of all most unworthy of the mercies I have had from God, who hath ever yet given me a heart which never yet feared foreign or home enemies. . . .

To the Speaker, Knights, and Burgesses of the Lower House who laid an address before her in the great gallery of Whitehall Palace urging her to marry ;
1559 :

From my years of understanding knowing myself a servitor of Almighty God I chose this kind of life in which I do yet live as a life most acceptable to Him wherein I thought I could best serve Him

[She then drew from her finger her coronation ring and shewing it to the commons said to them] When I received this ring I solemnly bound myself in marriage to the realm and it will be quite sufficient for the memorial of my name and for my glory if when I die an inscription be engraved on a marble tomb saying

Here lieth Elizabeth which reigned a virgin and died a virgin

To Parliament on its requesting her to marry and to name a successor

I have not bound myself by any vow of celibacy never to trade in that kind of life called marriage I think it best for private women but as a prince I endeavour to bend my mind to it

To the Duke of Norfolk, heading a delegation urging her to marry 1562

At my own time I shall turn my mind to marriage if it be for the public good

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg ; 1564 :

It will be very easy to agree about the conditions for my marriage when it is settled who is to be the bridegroom.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg :

I should call the wedding-ring the yoke-ring.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg :

I will not make the mistake of disclosing any thing about my consent to this or to that marriage. I deserve to have the first approaches made to me. It is a question of the Kingship, and any one who wants to get that must make his own advances.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg :

Many people regard it as incredible that I should shrink from matrimony, but nevertheless that is the plain fact of the case.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg :

I am attracted to perpetual spinsterhood not by prejudice, but rather by natural inclination.

To the Ambassador of the Duke of Würtemberg :

I love a friend as myself, but I should love a husband more than myself, since I should be

giving myself to him representing as he would
the very summit of love

To Fénelon and de la Mole

Although I desire to sacrifice myself for my
subjects I do not wish to go to the length of
incurring the extreme misery of an unhappy
marriage for that would be for me a perpetual
hell on earth

To the French Ambassador

If I thought that one of my subjects was so
presumptuous as to seek me for his wife I would
never want to see him and I would give him a
bad time although it would be against my
nature which contains no cruelty

To the French Ambassador temp c. 1565

On my life I would marry only a prince of a
great and illustrious house no less important
than my own more for the good of my state
than for any affection I might have

To de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador

The world when a woman remains single
assumes that there must be something wrong
about her and that she has some discreditable

reason for it. , They said of me that I would not marry because I was in love with the Earl of Leycester, and that I could not marry him because he had a wife already ; yet now he has no wife ; and nevertheless I do not marry him, although at one time the king my brother [Philip II.] advised me to do it.

To the Ambassador of Ferdinand, the Emperor, who was urging her to marry the Archduke Charles :

I shall never have a husband who will sit all day by the fire. When I marry it will be with a man who can ride, and hunt, and fight.

To the French Ambassador :

When I think of marriage, it is as though my heart were being dragged out of my vitals, so much am I opposed to marriage by nature ; but if the welfare of my subjects compels me to marry, I shall marry outside of my kingdom.

To Fénelon :

I beg you to believe that I have never suffered such a great constraint, not even when I was thrown into the Tower, as I do in forcing and compelling myself to resolve on marriage.

To Fénelon :

I do not want a husband who honours me as a queen, if he does not love me as a woman.

To Gualderstern, Swedish Ambassador, who was urging the marriage and trying to get her to promise her hand before she saw the King :

If your king is not enough in love with me to come and try his luck, even if he be doubtful of his success, I do not care very much.

To the Spanish Ambassador, who was urging her to marry the Austrian Archduke :

If the emperor would have me for a daughter he would not be doing too much by sending his son here without so many safeguards. I do not hold myself of so small account that the emperor need sacrifice any dignity in doing it. . . . I shall never supplicate and summon his son ; I would rather die a thousand deaths. It is not fit for a queen and a maiden to summon anyone to marry her

To the French Ambassador ; 1565, æt. 32. He was urging her to marry Charles IX. of France, who was seventeen years her junior and only sixteen :

I fear that the Queen Mother has not been

fully informed of my age, which is such that I am afraid the King and she would reproach themselves and that discontent will be my lot, for I shall be disagreeable and be neglected by him as the late Queen Mary, my sister, was by the King of Spain . . . and I should rather die than find myself despised and neglected.

To Walsingham, her Ambassador in Paris, when the hand of Anjou had been formally offered her :

You may say [to the French King] as of yourself, that you are not . . . acquainted with the marriage of the children of France ; yet you dare affirm that you know there can be no example shewed of the like of this ; that is, that either elder son of France, or any younger, was at any time to be matched in Marriage with such a Prince, having such Kingdoms as we have, by whom such an advancement might have grown as may by Marriage with us, both to the Duke himself, and to the King and Crown of France ; and therefore this special cause can have no former example answerable to rule this. . . .

To Fénelon, who had brought word that his royal master opposed Elizabeth's insistence that Alençon

must come over to see her before she would further consider marrying him, the French point being that if she were to refuse him after seeing him it would be derogatory to him

I entreat that neither the King of France the Queen Mother nor you will believe me to be capable of such baseness as to speak of an interview with a prince of Alençon's high rank if I were not disposed to marry him It was long before I could overcome my reluctance to the wedded state and now that I have gained that victory over myself I am disposed to use it for the purpose of strengthening the bonds of friendship between the royal house of France and myself I desire the interview as much for the satisfaction of the Duke as for my own, to the end that he may not be compelled to espouse a woman whom he could not love and on my own account I wish to see if I can be loved by him and also if the disparity of his age and what has been reported of his face are objections that can be overcome and if I cannot have this satisfaction then I must beg you to tell the King and his mother that the matter is at an end

To Walsingham, her Ambassador in Paris, who has reported that her conditions for marrying Alençon are without precedent at the French Court :

You are to answer that, considering the advancement that will grow by a marriage with me, this special case can have no former example answerable to rule it.

To Paulet, her Ambassador in Paris, about the proposed marriage with Alençon :

It has been explained to him [Alençon] that if they were treating with a princess who was ugly, or otherwise unsuited to him either through bodily deformity or other natural imperfection, or lacking in mental gifts suitable to our place and quality, in that case a mode of procedure so strict and savouring of obstinacy, founded rather on motives of profit than on love or good will, might have been tolerated. But seeing the graces which God has bestowed on us, besides the honourable estate that we hold, for which we thank Him without end as His goodness is endless to us, not boasting of that which is of His grace and not of our desert, esteeming it a thing unbecoming to chant our own praises,

if we deem ourselves worthy of a prince as great as Monsieur without agreeing to conditions so hard as we refused heretofore granted to other princes and they took it in good part, it will not be imputed to us as a fault

To Fénelon, referring to reports of her spies in France

It has been said, in France, that Monsieur would do well to marry the old creature, who had had for the last year an ulcer in her leg which was not yet healed, and never could be cured, and under that pretext, they could send me a potion from France of such a nature that he would find himself a widower in the course of five or six months and after that he could please himself by marrying the Queen of Scotland and remain the undisputed sovereign of the united realms

To Alençon, when he had begged, after the massacre of St. Bartholomew to be allowed to come to throw himself at her feet

* My people do not like the business [of her proposed marriage with Alençon] in which you are engaged and if you come to woo me with your sword stained with Protestant blood, you

will be regarded by my subjects with horror ; neither I nor they can forget the massacre of St. Bartholomew which was perpetrated at a marriage festival.

To Fénélon, when he inquired by command of the Queen-Mother of France if Elizabeth would proceed with the negotiations for her marriage with Alençon, who was then in prison for treason :

I cannot be so ungrateful as to think ill of a prince who thinks so well of me, but I must tell you decisively that I will not take a husband with irons on his feet.

To Alençon, who had been rejected as ruler of the Netherlands by the Dutch, and who was now asking to come to request her hand :

I assure you I am much displeased that that ingrateful multitude, a true mob, should so misuse such a prince, and I think that God, if not men, will be revengeful on them for it, and am glad that you have safely escaped their iniquitous hands. Nor do I doubt that having passed Scylla you will beware of entering Charybdis.

To the Archbishop of York :

My Lord, here I am between Scylla and

Charybdis Alençon has agreed to all the terms I sent him and is asking me to tell him when I wish him to come and marry me. If I do not marry him, I do not know whether he will remain friendly with me, and if I do, I shall not be able to govern the country with the freedom and security that I have hitherto enjoyed. What shall I do?

To Alençon on the morning after she had placed the ring on his finger, following a night of sleepless struggle to determine what course to pursue.

Two more such nights as the last will bring me to the grave.

To Alençon

Now the world will see whether I, as was pretended, have made you prisoner or whether you have not rather made me a prisoner.

To one of her highest officials

I would not marry Alençon to be empress of the world.

To Alençon when he had told her that rather than give her up he would see them both perish, her age was forty-eight.

You must not threaten a poor old woman in her own kingdom. Passion not reason speaks.

in you or I would think you mad. I beg you not to use such dreadful words.

Poem upon the departure of Alençon after her final refusal to wed him. This was in 1582 when Elizabeth was æt. 48, and he 26. He promised to return, but she never saw him again, and he died two years later :

I.

I grieve, yet dare not shew my discontent ;
I love, and yet am forced to seem to hate ;
I dote, but dare not what I ever meant ;
I seem stark mute, yet inwardly doe prate ;
I am, and am not—freeze, and yet I burn ;
Since from myself my other self I turn.

II.

My care is like my shadow in the sun—
Follows me flying—flies when I pursue it ;
Stands and lives by me—does what I have done ;
This too familiar care doth make me rue it.
No means I find to rid him from my breast,
Till by the end of things it be suppressed.

III.

Some gentler passion steal into my mind,
(For I am soft, and made of melting snow ;)

Or be more cruel, love, or be more kind ,
Or let me float or sink, be high or low ,
Or let me live with some more sweet content ,
Or die, and so forget what love e'er meant

To her suite, referring to Alençon after he had left her for the last time

I would give a million to have my frog swimming in the Thames instead of in the stagnant waters of the Netherlands

To the Spanish Ambassador, who excused his absence from Court by saying that he supposed she was too busy to see him while she was preparing for her marriage with Alençon, whom she had induced to retire from the Netherlands with his troops In view of the foregoing Sayings relating to Alençon, the following remark is one of the most significant of all Elizabeth's career

An old woman like me has something else to think about besides marrying , the hopes I gave that I would marry Alençon were given for the purpose of getting him out of the Netherland States , I never wished to see them in the hands of the French

To Somerset, 1549, æt. 15

I know I have a soul to be saved as well as other folks have

To an examiner who had been charged to test her conversion to the Catholic faith. This was during her imprisonment at Woodstock. She was asked as to the presence of the Saviour at the Lord's Supper, and gave this answer extempore :

Christ's was the word that spake it,
He took the bread and break it,
And what His word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

To her companions, when she was told she had become Queen. She was seated under the branches of a great oak still standing at Hatfield House. At the announcement, she fell upon her knees and spoke these words ; 1558, æt. 25 :

A Domino factum est illud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris ! [It is the doing of the Lord, it is marvellous in our eyes !]

To de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador :

Many people think we are Turks or Moors here, whereas we only differ from other Catholics in things of small importance.

To Parliament ; 1585 :

We must suppose that God would never have made us but for a better place and of more comfort than we find here.

To Parliament; 1585:

I see many ever bold with God Almighty, making too many subtle scannings of the blessed will as lawyers do with human testaments. The presumption is so great as I may not suffer it.

To Fénélon

I think that, at the worst, God has not yet ordained that England shall perish, or, at least, I do not believe that she has yet been put in the power of those amongst men who, possibly, would willingly undertake to destroy her.

Extract from the Latin prayer composed by Elizabeth and written in her own hand in the little Prayer Book which she seems always to have carried to her devotions after the first meeting between her and Alençon in 1579. This book, entirely in her hand and of original text, was only three inches high by two inches wide, of sixty-five vellum pages. It was bound in shagreen, with gold enamelled clasps each with a ruby in the centre. There were two prayers in English, and one each in Italian, French, Greek and Latin.

Lord God, Eternal Father to whom belong power, sovereignty and glory, who art above all

through all and in all, through whom kings reign and princes rule on the earth, who hast subjected all things to the sovereignty and power of man that man may subject himself wholly beneath the power of thy word and will : Give to me, the Queen, thy counsels, that I may judge thy people in justice and thy poor in understanding. The frail body weighs down the spirit, and its earthly dwelling oppresses the mind as it ponders many things ; nor, amongst the sons of men does any know thy counsel, or understand thy mind unless thou hast first given wisdom and breathed upon him with thy divine spirit. Give to me, thy handmaid, a docile heart, that I may know what is acceptable before thee ; send from heaven the spirit of thy wisdom, and by thy guidance rule my heart. . . .

Extract from the Greek prayer composed by Elizabeth and written in her own hand in the Prayer Book just described :

. . . Remit, forgive, be gracious and pardon me, a sinner and thy unworthy servant, all my sins from my youth, whether [committed] in knowledge or in ignorance, in words or in deeds, against thee ; sanctify me in soul and in body,

in mind and in heart, and renew me wholly
 And be to me a helper and protector ruling in
 peace my life and my people thou who alone
 art blessed everywhere now and for endless
 ages AMEN

Extract from the Italian prayer in the same work

And while Thou art pleased to leave me
 living on earth I beseech Thee to keep me under
 the shadow of the wings of Thy divine power
 even as Thou hast with thy mighty hand from
 my youth upward shielded me from a thousand
 mortal perils Grant O Lord that I may
 not be confounded for being but weak and
 subject to human ignorance in this my calling
 I feel that I have need of good advice and wise
 counsel and swift succour at all times especially
 when I am assailed by the impetuous winds and
 fierce tempests to which Christian monarchs
 are wont to be subjected

To Sir William Brown, deputy governor of Flushing
 upon his telling her that the Zealanders in the
 fight against Spain, put their faith in her and prayed
 for her

Yea Brown I know it well enough and I

will tell thee one thing. Faith, here is a church of that countrymen in London ; I protest, next after the divine providence that governs all my well-doing, I attribute much of the happiness that befalls me to be given of God by those men's effectual and zealous prayers, who, I know, pray for me with that fervency as none of my servants can do more.

Upon realizing that Lopez had intended to assassinate her :

O Lord, Thou art my God ; my times are in Thy hand.

Prayer written by Elizabeth between the sailing from Spain of the Armada and its arrival off the Lizard, to be read twice a week in all the churches of England :

We do instantly beseech Thee, of Thy gracious goodness, to be merciful to the Church militant here upon earth, and at this time compassed about with most strong and subtle adversaries. O let Thine enemies know that Thou has received England, which they most of all for Thy gospel's sake do malign, into Thine own protection. Set a wall about it, O Lord, and evermore mightily defend it. Let it be a comfort to the

afflicted a help to the oppressed and a defence
to Thy Church and people persecuted abroad
And forasmuch as this cause is new in hand
direct and go before our armies both by sea and
land Bless them and prosper them and
grant unto them Thy honourable success and
victory Thou art our help and shield O give
good and prosperous success to all those that
fight the battle against the enemies of Thy
gospel

To the French Ambassador, who had complimented
her statecraft æt. 64

It came from the goodness of God upon
whom I have depended more than upon anyone
in the world

Prayer still extant in Elizabeth's own hand, written
at the time Spain was thought to be preparing a
second Armada 1597 æt. 64

O god all maker keeper and guider Inure
ment of thy rare scene unused and seeld heard
of goodness powred in so plentiful sort upon us
full oft breeds now this boldnes to crave with
bowed knees and heartes of humilitye thy large
hande of helping power to resist with wonder

oure just cause, not founded on Pridēs-motion,
nor begun on Malice-stock ; But as thou best
knowest, to whome nought is hid, grounded on
just defence from wronges, hate, and bloody
desire of conquest. . . .

To the French Ambassador :

If there were two princes in Christendom who
had good will and courage, it would be very easy
to reconcile the religious difficulties ; there is
only one Jesus Christ and one faith, and all the
rest is a dispute over trifles.

To de Feria, representative of Philip II. in London :

I do not intend to be called Head of the
Church, but I shall not let my subjects' money
be carried out of the realm to the pope any
more ; the bishops are a set of lazy scamps.

To the Spanish Ambassador :

My bishops are a set of knaves, and I will not
have the Catholics ill-used.

To the French Ambassador, when he had said that
Europe would never be quiet so long as there were
religious differences :

As to trying to unite the churches, God knows

I have time and again sent to the Emperor to ask it, he will have no opposition from me I even said to Cardinal Chastillon that whatever they think in his religion about the abomination of mass going I myself would much sooner hear a thousand masses than have caused the least of the million villainies committed in these troubles

To de Feria Spanish representative in London

Religion is a matter of conscience in which in life and death I mean to be constant

To the French Ambassador, to whom she was suggesting a conference which she promised to attend to settle the disputes of religion

These religious differences are not so great as supposed and may be adjusted It is my opinion that two Christian sovereigns acting in unison can settle everything on a better principle without heeding either priests or ministers

To Fénelon

I only want the King of France to authorize the exercise of the Protestant religion in such a moderate way that it can neither injure nor offend his other subjects who are Catholics

To the Duke of Württemberg, asking his aid in a coming theological conference :

We exhort Your Excellency not to join yourself with the restless wits of those who want to move and disturb everything as they list rather than with those who cherish the concord of all the churches . . . as we have heard that certain factious persons are using every effort to start a controversy about the Lord's Supper . . . we pray you to do your best to hinder the discussion, or get it put off, lest the spark should burst forth into a flame, whereby the Church of Christ may be set on fire.

To the Duke of Anjou after his letter announcing his defeat of the Protestants at Jarnac and the murder by treachery of the Prince of Condé who had surrendered his sword after defeat :

I have received your letter with a writing declaring your victory and the death of the Prince of Condé, for the which it seems it is looked for that I should rejoice. I thank you for your good remembrance in writing to me in a time incumbered with so many matters, and I so far rejoice as I may hereafter see that, by this effusion of so much Christian blood, the

king may recover a perfect obedience of his subjects as well in minds as in bodies other wise I think the victory so only in name

To the wife of the Archbishop of Canterbury who had just entertained Elizabeth at great expense and trouble this speech was Elizabeth's farewell and thanks for all that had been done for her She was always opposed to a married clergy

And you madam I may not call you mistress I am ashamed to call you and so I know not what to call you but howsoever I thank you

To the Duke of Anjou referring to the wars of religion then devastating France

I fear that in these lamentable inward wars more earnestness is bestowed to nourish civil hatred than in pacification of the troubles

To the Count Palatine, on the Augustan Confession

Robert Beale reported that you were vehemently opposed to the censures passed upon churches holding opinions of the Lord's Supper different from those set forth by Luther We think you quite right and that you hold the view which appears most adapted to form the

concord of all the churches. . . . We beseech you to intervene with all your authority, lest by the heedlong counsels of a few an occasion be afforded for a great schism in the Church of God. You can see what a pleasant spectacle we should display to the Papists if food for dissension is furnished by the wile of Satan, and they see us fighting among ourselves.

To the Duke of Anjou, speaking of the religious wars in France :

I cannot but utter my grief that the King's affairs are not otherwise conducted but that he is forced to hazard his own brother to employ his first age in such dangerous and doubtful attempts as wheresoever the victory inclines the ruin and waste must be of the blood of his own country.

To Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, when he urged her too strongly to dismiss some Catholics from the Council merely for their religion ; 1558, æt. 25 :

God's death, villain, I will have thy head !

To Sussex, to say to the Archduke of Austria, her suitor, on the difference of their religions :

God has so far prospered me by keeping England in peace, while Scotland, France and

Flanders are torn by war, and I mind still to please Him by continuing my whole realm in one manner of religion

To Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador:

I have never castigated the Catholics except when they would not acknowledge me as their queen, in spiritual matters I believe as they do

To some person unidentified; reported to the Doge and Senate of Venice by Priuli, their Ambassador in France

My one desire is the union of the faithful, and if the Emperor and other princes wish to summon a Council which shall be universal and free, I will give my adherence

Elizabeth's favourite motto

Video et taceo [I see and am silent]

To the Swedish Ambassador; 1561, æt. 27:

I, a virgin can make my frank boast that I communicate to no mortal man my secret counsels except to such as I have chosen on account of their taciturnity, then, if these secrets are later discovered, I know whom to accuse

Inscription in a Psalter given to some person now unknown :

No crooked legge, no blered eye, no part
deformed out of kinde,
Nor yet so ouglye halfe can be as is the inward
suspicious minde.

To Parliament :

They that fear the hoary frost, the snow shall
fall upon them.

To some person not known :

I mynde to perceave *in meliorem*, if I must be
beguiled.

To the King of Sweden ; 1561 :

Do not tell secrets to those whose faith and
silence you have not already tested.

To Buckhurst, in the Netherlands :

There is small disproportion betwixt a fool
who useth not wit because he hath it not and
him that useth it not when it should avail him.

To the Spanish Ambassador, who was protesting
against her arrest of Catholics :

Those who appear the most sanctified are
the worst.

To Sir Henry Sidney Governor of Ireland

Let the good service of well-deservers be never
rewarded with loss Let their thanks be such
as may encourage more strivers for the like

To the French Ambassador

I might well be obliged to have some know-
ledge of the affairs of the world having been
called so young and having governed this
kingdom for forty years

To the same

Though the sex to which I belong is considered
weak [*leger*] you will nevertheless find me a rock
that bends to no wind

To de Noailles the French Ambassador

I know well that my kingdom is small, it is
all the easier to defend

To the same

Although I am a woman nevertheless I am the
daughter of predecessors who knew how to
deserve this kingdom

To the French Ambassador

There is no marvel in a woman learning to
speak but there would be in teaching her to
hold her tongue

To Admiral Seymour, her first suitor ; æt. 14 :

I am a friend not won with trifles, nor lost
with the like.

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

Make some difference between tried, just, and
false friends.

To Catherine de' Medici :

I shall be the author of nothing that I cannot
defend.

To Henry IV. of France, who was trying, against
her opposition and her interest, to make peace with
Spain after she had spent much treasure and blood
to assist him to fight Philip :

The true sin against the Holy Ghost is in-
gratitude.

To some person unidentified :

I don't keep a dog and bark myself.

To some party unknown :

Abstinence is the better part of physic.

To a friend who asked her what troubled her :

Green wounds scarce abide the touchers' hand.

To somebody now unidentified, in a letter still preserved.

Friendship is the uniform consent of two mounds, such as virtue links and nought but death can destroy

To Stafford in Paris

Hitherto they have thought me no fool, let me not live the longer the worse

To the same, on the dangers of her becoming involved deeply in the war between Spain and the Netherlands through supporting Alençon, whom she was perhaps to marry and who had accepted the sovereignty of that country

Oh what may they think of me that for any glory of mine own would procure the ruin of my land?

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland

A fool too late bewares when all the peril is past

To Philip II, King of Spain, with respect to his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands and Zeeland.

What does it matter to your Majesty if they go to the devil in their own way?

To Burghley, Bacon, Northampton, Sadler, and Bedford, on their reporting that the Duke of Norfolk, in dallying with a marriage with Mary Queen of Scots, had done nothing for which he could be beheaded :

Away ! What the law fails to do, my authority shall effect. [Upon this occasion she fell into one of the fits to which she was frequently subject.]

To Hunsdon, to say to James VI. of Scotland, who had made threats on learning of his mother's execution :

Being a queen and a prince sovereign [I am] answerable to none for my actions, otherwise than as I shall be disposed of my own free will, but to Almighty God alone.

To the Chaplain of the Royal Chapel when he began to read to the congregation—among whom, seated with her close to the altar, were the French Ambassador and a large embassy—a chapter of Holy Writ :

Not that ! I know that already. Read something else.

To her Council, after being asked by Cardinal Chastillon to consult it about her marriage with the French royal prince Anjou :

This, I can tell you plainly, I did not think

good, and I replied to him " I am a Sovereign Queen, and do not depend on my Council, but they on me, who hold their lives and heads in my hands, and they dare only do what I wish "

To Parliament, when it urged her to marry and settle the succession

You attend to your own duties and I 'll perform mine

To a Parliamentary deputation begging her to take a husband

You are a lot of hare-brained politicians, unfit to decide such matters !

To a Committee of both Houses of Parliament which had demanded that she marry and name a successor

As for mine own part, I care not for death for all men are mortal and though I be a woman I have as good a courage answerable to my place as ever my father had

I am your anointed Queen I will never be by violence constrained to do *anything* I thank God I am endued with such qualities that if I were turned out of the Realm in my petticoat I were able to live in any place in christome

To the Speaker of the House of Commons, after compelling him to deliver up to her a Bill she did not choose to submit to that body :

It is in my power to call parliaments, in my power to dissolve them, in my power to give assent or dissent to any determination which they should form. I have enjoined them already . . . to meddle neither with matters of state nor of religion . . . and I take the present opportunity to reiterate the commands given by the keeper, and to require that no bill regarding either state affairs or reformation in causes ecclesiastical be exhibited in the House. In particular, I charge you, upon your allegiance, if any such bills be offered, absolutely to refuse them a reading, and not so much as permit them to be debated by the members.

To a deputation of the House of Commons, whose members were urging her to name her successor :

My lords ! do yourselves what you choose ; but as to myself, I will only act as I think proper. All the Orders you may make can have no force without my consent and authority. *What you desire is of too great importance to be declared to a*

collection of brains so light It well deserves that I should take the counsel of men who understand the rules of public right and the laws as I am determined to do I shall select half a dozen of the most competent which can be found in my kingdom to consult with them and after such a conference I will communicate to you my will

To the House of Commons

A few of you have justly merited the reproach of audacious arrogant and presumptuous you have presumed to call in question my grants and prerogative But I warn you that since you thus wilfully forget yourselves you are otherwise to be admonished some other species of correction must be found for you since neither my commands nor the example of your wiser brethren can reclaim your audacious arrogant and presumptuous folly by which you are thus led to meddle with what nowise belongs to you and what is beyond the compass of your understanding

To the Speaker of the Commons

Liberty of speech is granted to the Commons

but they must know what liberty they are entitled to ; not a liberty for every one to speak what he listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter ; their privilege extends no farther than a liberty of Aye or No.

To the Dean of St. Paul's, who displeased her when preaching. She opened the door of her closet and ejaculated before the whole congregation :

Leave that ungodly digression and return to your text !

To a person now unknown, reported by her godson, Harrington :

My State requires me to command what I know my people will willingly do from their own love to me.

To Rosny, afterward the famous de Sully :

There is a vital necessity for keeping the power of the House of Austria within due bounds, in which we both ought to unite. But the Low Countries ought to form an independent republic. Neither the whole nor any part of these States need be coveted by either myself, the King of France, or the King of Scotland, who will become one day King of Great Britain.

[Thus appears to be the first time that the words Great Britain were ever uttered]

To a Scottish delegation

I therefore wish that you all persist fast in a good concord and not to dissever yourselves with any factions The proverb is very true that darts foreseen hurt very little or not at all

To Sir Henry Sidney Governor of Ireland

No if I did not see the balances held awry I had myself come into the weigh house

To Fénelon

Sometimes a prince may have a very good right to a realm which he yet does not enjoy and except for the title he is always in difficulties either in conquering some of it or in defending all the rest and thus the King of France has conquered by this peace the most glorious realm in all the world which up till now he has not been master of and whose woes and discords no other country could have borne so long without a transformation or the entire ruin of the state which I advise him not to endanger further

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland :

A strength to harm is perilous in the hand of an ambitious head.

To Walsingham, to whom she had remarked that she only required the Papists to obey the laws :

For I make no windows into the hearts of men.

To Leycester, who expressed a wish to overlook the injuries done him by the Netherlands :

Your own judgment ought to have taught that such a slight and mild kind of dealing with a people so ingrate and void of consideration as the said Estates have showed themselves towards us, is the ready way to increase their contempt.

To an official, who had asked her opinion of the right of Sir Thomas Arundel to precedence in England because of a foreign honour which he had received :

There is a close tie of affection between sovereigns and their subjects ; and as chaste wives should have no eyes but for their husbands, so faithful liegemen should keep their regards at home and not look after foreign crowns. For my part I like not for my sheep to wear a stranger's mark nor to dance after a foreigner's whistle.

To the French Ambassador :

It is much more necessary to keep secrets in the courts of princes, for there is an infinite number of devils who spy on their actions to make trouble and thwart them

To Sir Philip Sidney, after he had had some words with an earl.

There is a great difference in degree between earls and private gentlemen, and princes are bound to support the nobility and to insist upon their being treated with proper respect

To Harrington's wife, who said that she kept her husband's affection by such conduct as proved her own to him

Go to—go to ! mistress You are wisely bent I find after such sort do I keep the good will of all my husbands—my good people—for if they did not rest assured of some special love towards them, they would not readily yield me such good obedience

To Sir Thomas Shirley, who pleaded for leniency to Leicester in the Netherlands

You know my mind I may not endure that my man should alter my commission, and the

authority that I gave him, upon his own fancies and without me.

To Fénelon :

Monarchs ought to put to death the authors and instigators of war, as their sworn enemies and as dangers to their states.

To Francis Bacon, when the Queen was insisting on the importance of the mien and appearance of an official :

Bacon, how can the magistrate maintain his authority, if the man be despised ?

To Fénelon, on his presentation of his credentials from his new King, Henry III. :

Although I may not be a lioness, I am a lion's cub, and inherit many of his qualities ; and as long as the King of France treats me gently he will find me as gentle and tractable as he can desire ; but if he be rough, I shall take the trouble to be just as troublesome and offensive to him as I can.

To Fénelon :

I would rather go to any extreme than suffer anything that is unworthy of my reputation, or of that of my crown.

To those who had urged her to give away a point
owing to a threat by the King of France

Nothing ought to induce me to show honour
to those who wish to belittle mine nor to court
the friendship of those who scorn it and I
should lower the dignity of the Crown of
England too much if I showed myself amenable
to threats

To Sussex to say to the Austrian Archduke in whose
behalf it had been suggested that the difference in
religions between them, if they were to marry, could
be adjusted if she would change the laws so that he
could bear mass

It would touch my reputation to change my
laws for a marriage and the example would
breed more trouble than could well be remedied

To de Noailles the French Ambassador who promised
that his king would not attack her

It may be so but I find it well to be pre-
pared In times of danger it is the custom of
England to arm If we are well prepared you
will be the less tempted to meddle with us

To Fenton

Princes have big ears which hear far and near

To Fénelon :

I rely only on the favour of God, the state that I hold from Him and on the goodwill my subjects bear me as a result of benefits and good treatment.

To the King of France ; 1577, æt. 44 :

Whoever may pretend to make justifiable war against me will have but small reason, seeing that I govern an empire and am invested with a crown granted to me by the late King, my father. I do not demand the rights of others. I rule in justice. I maintain my subjects in peace. I fear no other princes. I trust in God, who is the author of justice, and who will defend me against evil-doers.

To Burghley, on making him her chief minister ; 1558, æt. 25 :

I give you this charge that you shall be of my privy council, and content yourself to take pains for me and my realm. This judgment I have of you, that you will not be corrupted by any manner of gift, and that you will be faithful to the state ; and that, without respect to my private will, you will give me that counsel

which you think best, and if you shall know anything necessary to be declared to me of secrecy, you shall shew it to myself only, and assure yourself I will not fail to keep taciturnity thereun, and therefore herewith I charge you.

To Heneage, her representative in the Netherlands, who had gone beyond his powers and promised that she would not make peace with Spain until she had received the assent of the Netherlands thereto :

We princes be wary enough of our bargains. Think you I will be bound by your own speech *to make no peace for mine own matters without their consent? It is enough that I injure not their country nor themselves in making peace for them without their consent* I am assured of your dutiful thoughts, but I am utterly at squares with this childish dealing.

To Sir John Norris, in the Netherlands, who was in a constant quarrel with Leicester, his commander :

Lay aside all private respects or passion, and bend your mind wholly to the advancement of the service you have in hand

To Heneage, who had exceeded his instructions :

What phlegmatical reasons soever were made

you, how happeneth that you will not remember that when a man hath faulted and committed by abettors thereto, neither the one nor the other will willingly make their own retreat. Jesus! what availeth wit when it fails the owner at greatest need?

To Sir Henry Sidney, Governor of Ireland:

HARRY,—If our partial, slender managing of the contentious quarrel between the two Irish rebels did not make the way to cause these lines to pass my hand, this gibberish should hardly have cumbered your eyes; but, warned by my former faults, and dreading worser hap to come, I rede [advise] you take good heed. Suffer not that Desmond's daring deeds, far wide from promised works, make you trust to other pledge than himself, or John, for gage. He hath so well performed his English vows that I warn you trust him no farther than you see one of them.

To the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, who had informed her that Shane O'Neal might head a rebellion against her authority there:

As touching your Suspition of Shane O'Neal,

be not dismayed, nor let any of my men be daunted, but tell 'em, that if he arise, it will be for their advantage for there will be estates for them who want, nor must he ever expect any more favour from me

To Hunsdon, after his success in quelling the northern rebellion

You must not judge us by outward show, for you know that when you were at Court, we did not use such countenance to you as nature moved us but though we do not demonstrate love in words and letters we shall in deeds

To Admiral Howard, who commanded the English ships that fought the Armada

I consider you and your officers as persons born for the preservation of your country

To Heneage, who had not followed his orders in the Netherlands

Do that you are bidden and leave your considerations for your own affairs For in some things you had clear commandment which you did not and in others none and did

To her Court, when, jealous of Blount, the Earl of Essex, then only a boy of 19 20 years, insulted him

and had to fight a duel with him in consequence. Essex was beaten, with the result that the two became fast friends for life. To Elizabeth, Essex was like a son of her own. He was the grandson of one of her dearest friends, the son of one of her most trusted followers, and one of her nearest relatives. He was her junior by thirty-four years, just his age when she beheaded him. When she heard of the duel with Blount, also one of her closest young friends, she burst out :

By God's death, it is fit that some one or other should take the Earl down and teach him manners, otherwise there will be no ruling him.

To Essex, as she boxed his ears for insolence. The offence and the punishment were before some of the highest officials of the kingdom. Essex was now aged thirty-three :

Go and be hanged !

To the French Ambassador, who had by command of his King pleaded for clemency for Essex after he had disobeyed the Queen's specific command not to leave his post in Ireland :

I beg His Majesty do not judge of the action of Essex without being well informed ; he has so ill-governed in his office, despising his orders and directions from me, that Ireland is in great

danger He has treated with the leader of the rebels without respect to my dignity and honour and has in the end returned to England against my express command abandoning the country and army to the enemy acts deserving of great punishment which however I have not yet imposed since the Earl is well lodged at one of his friends with a beautiful room and a garden to walk in I will later advise His Majesty what I shall do and I beg him to have a good opinion of me and gentleness will always be more agreeable to me than severity but I must preserve my authority

To the French Ambassador referring to the Earl after his armed rebellion against her

An ungrateful insensate has at last made clear what he has for a long time hidden in his mind and if His Majesty had known him well he would not have spoken in his favour I do not wish His Majesty to know all the disobediences of Essex the more so because His Majesty would blame me for having endured them so long I have hidden them even from my own Council hoping that he would amend them

but he cannot now blame anybody except himself for his misfortune, as he has brought it upon himself. If he had, [when heading his forces in the streets of London] come to meet me as was reported, I had resolved to go and meet him face to face to see which of us two should reign.

To Bacon, with regard to Essex's flattery of her :

Essex has written to me some dutiful letters, which moved me ; but after taking them to flow from the abundance of his heart, I find them but a preparative to a suit for renewing his farm of sweet wines.

To Essex, when he petitioned for the renewal of a monopoly she had given him many years before, and which was worth some £50,000 per annum. This petition was with relation to the last Saying above. Elizabeth's reply was :

When horses become unmanageable it is necessary to tame them by stinting them in the quantity of their food !

To the French Ambassador :

If I could have spared the life of this ungrateful and perfidious Essex and secured the

continuance of my authority in the State, I would gladly have been lenient, but you yourself have seen that he was unworthy, and while he lived I could not live and I was compelled to rid myself of this danger. But I confess that I have been partly to blame for this misfortune as I had made too much of Essex, and had allowed him to become greater among the nobility and the common people than was desirable for a subject.

To the French Ambassador

Having clearly seen that Essex's impatience and ambitious designs would bring misfortune on him I warned him more than two years before his execution that since he took every occasion of displeasing me and insolently despising my person he should be careful not to touch my sceptre so that I should be compelled to punish him according to the laws of England and not according to my own, which he had found too gentle and favourable to fear that they would ever do him any harm, but my warnings though salutary and affectionate could not save him and his passion had been

surmounted by one still greater which I shall not forget to the end of my life, in spite of my regret.

When ordering that Essex's banner, hung with those of the other Knights of The Garter, at Windsor, be treated as if he had died in all honour :

I know Essex committed a great crime, but, for the sake of his son, I cannot forget the services he has rendered the Crown.

To Menyn, one of the Envoys from the Estates-General of the Netherlands, who had solicited her to send more money and men to help them against Spain. This speech of Elizabeth was long, extempore, and in French :

Our common adage which we have in England is a very good one : When one fears that an evil is coming, the sooner it arrives the better. Here is a quarter of a year that I have been expecting you. . . . 'Tis very strange that you should begin by soliciting still greater succour without rendering me any satisfaction for your past actions, which have been so extraordinary that I swear by the living God I think it impossible to find peoples or states more ungrateful or ill-advised than yourselves.

To Fénelon

It seems as if Their Very Christian Majesties as allies of us both have constituted themselves judges between us but they keep the ear that ought to be open on my side closed and that on the side of the Queen of Scots very prompt and always attentive to all her complaints

To the Envoys of the Netherlands who had come for more assistance against the Spaniards

I sent you the Earl of Leycester as lieutenant of my forces You have given him the title of governor in order under this name to cast all your evils on his head That title he accepted against my will by doing which he ran the risk of *losing his life* and his estates and the grace and favour of his Princess which was more important to him than all But he did it in order to maintain your tottering state And what authority I pray you have you given him? A shadowy authority a purely imaginary one This is but mockery by the living God I would not have suffered you so to treat me But you are so badly advised that when there is a man of worth who discovers

- your tricks, you wish him ill and make an outcry against him ; and yet some of you in order to save your money, and others in the hope of bribes, have been favouring the Spaniard. . . . Yet in order to cover up their filth they spread the story that the Queen of England is thinking of treating for peace without their knowledge. . . . But princes must listen to both sides, and that can be done without breach of faith. For they transact business in a certain way, and with a princely intelligence, such as private persons cannot imitate. You are States, to be sure, but private individuals in regard to princes. . . . You have issued a proclamation in your country that no one is to talk of peace. Very well, very good. But permit princes likewise to do as they shall think best for the security of their state, provided it does you no injury. Among us princes we are not wont to make such long orations as you do, but you ought to be content with the few words that we bestow upon you, and make yourself quiet thereby. . . .

To Paulus Jaline, Ambassador from Poland, who, in 1597, before her entire Court which she had summoned to hear what she thought was to be a

very complimentary message, made threats that his master would punish her if she did not comply with his demands forthwith. At such an effront, Elizabeth, leaping from her throne, and thrusting aside her Lord Chancellor, whose place it was to respond, broke out, in Latin, in the following extempore rejoinder

I looked for an Embassy, but you have brought a complaint to me. I understood by your letters that you were a legate but I find you a herald. Never in my life have I heard such an oration. I marvel at so great and such unaccustomed boldness in a public assembly. Neither do I think if your King were present, that he would say so much. But if by chance he did commit any such thing to your charge (which I surely much doubt) this is the reason. That where the King is young and not by blood but by election and newly elected he does not so perfectly understand the course of dealing in such businesses with other Princes which either his ancestors have observed with us or perhaps others will observe that afterward shall succeed in his place. For your part you seem to me to have read many books but not to have come to the books of princes but

altogether to be ignorant what is to be observed between Kings. But were it not for the place you hold, to have so public an imputation thrown upon our justice, which as yet never failed, we would answer this audacity of yours in another style. And for the particulars of your negotiations we will appoint some of our council to confer with you, to see upon what grounds this clamour of yours has its foundation ; In the meantime, farewell, and be quiet.

[After she had concluded and the astounded Ambassador had vanished, the Queen broke into laughter and said :]

God's death, my Lords ! but I have been enforced this day to scour up my old Latin that hath lain long rusting.

To the Confederate States of the Netherlands :

As, to your disgrace, and without my knowledge, you have conferred the absolute government of the confederate states upon Leycester, my subject, though I had refused it myself, I now require you to eject Leycester from the office you have unadvisedly conferred upon him.

To the States-General of the Netherlands, respecting their conferment of the office of governor-general upon Leicester :

To tell the truth, you seem to have treated us with very little respect, and put a too manifest insult upon us in presenting anew to one of our subjects the same proposition which we had already declined, without at least waiting for our answer whether we should like it or no ; as if we had not sense enough to be able to decide upon what we ought to accept or refuse.

To Heneage, to say to the Netherlands States because they had made Leicester their governor against her command

We find it strange that you shew yourselves to have a very slender and weak conceit of my judgment, by pressing a minister of ours to accept that which we had refused, as though our long experience in government has not yet taught us to discover what were fit for us to do in matters of our state

To the King of France, when he refused to send a traitor to her

The letters before the last sent to me by my

ambassadors 'confirmed me in my love and honour for you, informing me of your great care of my life by giving order for the apprehension of him who has often attacked it in divers ways, being the greatest traitor ever living in a prince's realm. But this pleasure is like a fire made of straw, which flames up more than it endures, for now I have a packet which has made me very angry, hearing that not only was he not delivered into my hands, but that my ambassadors have not been permitted to see his ciphers and writings. But, *qui pis est* [what is worse], my greatest enemies have been allowed to visit him, in order to agree upon the replies he shall make to hide the accomplices of such treachery. My God, what necromancy has driven you so mad as to blind your eyes so completely that you cannot see as in a mirror your own danger, you to whom God has not granted such success and adoring subjects that you may not have the balance of their fidelity shaken. Even amongst barbarians, such iniquity would be punished in exemplary fashion before the world. Certainly it would be expected from a most Christian King, and I swear

to you that if he is to be denied to me I shall conclude that I am not desiring a league with a King but with a legate or a governor of seminaries and shall be ashamed to put myself into such bad company for I shall never think that such an act came from a nation so honourable and so royal as your own

To a delegation from the House of Lords, whose members objected to her favours to Leicester It is thus Saying that gives us Elizabeth's own testimony of the FOUNDATION of her gratitude to and conduct toward him

I have not thought of contracting a marriage with Dudley I only show him favour because of his goodness to me when I was in trouble during the reign of my sister At that time he never ceased his former kindness and service but even sold his possessions to provide me with funds and on this account it seems to me but just that now I should give him some reward for his fidelity and constancy

To de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador

I am insulted both in England and abroad for having shown more favour than I ought to

have shown to the Lord Robert. I am spoken of as if I were an immodest woman. I ought not to wonder at it : I have favoured him because of his excellent disposition and for his many merits ; but I am young and he is young and therefore we have been slandered. God knows that it is a great iniquity, and the time will come when the world will know it also. My life is not in the dark, and I have so many witnesses that I cannot understand how so bad a judgment can have been formed of me. But what can we do ? We cannot cover every one's mouth, but must content ourselves with doing our duty and trust in God, for the truth will at last be made manifest. He knows my heart, which is very different from what people think, as you will see some day.

To Leycester, because he supported Pembroke in a demand that she appoint a successor :

You, my lord ! You ! If all the world forsook me I thought that you would be true ! [Leycester replied that he would die at her feet, to which she answered :] What has that to do with it ?

To Leycester, who had threatened with dismissal one of the Queen's attendants because he had carried out against one of Leycester's men an order of hers which was obnoxious to the Earl. The offending man confronted Leycester before the Queen and asked her, "Who is to rule, Leycester or Your Majesty?"

God's death my lord! I have wished you well but my favour is not so locked up in you that others shall not participate thereof, for I have many servants unto whom I have conferred and will at my pleasure confer my favour and likewise reassume the same, and if you think to rule here I will take a course to see you forthcoming I will have here but one mistress and no master and look that no ill happen to him lest it be severely required at your hands

To Leycester who had presumed again

If by my favour you have become insolent, you will soon reform I shall pull you down just as I raised you in the beginning

To Leycester upon his accepting the sovereignty of the Netherlands against her orders

How contemptuously you have carried your self towards us you should understand by this

messenger, whom we send to you for that purpose. We little thought that one, whom we had raised out of the dust, and prosecuted with such singular favour, above all others, would, with so great contempt, have slighted and broken our commands in a matter of so great consequence, and so highly concerning us and our honour. Whereof, though you have but small regard, contrary to what you ought, by your allegiance, yet, think not that we are so careless of repairing it, that we can bury so great an injury in silence and oblivion. We, therefore, command you, that, all excuse set apart, you do, forthwith, upon your allegiance, which you owe to us, whatsoever Heneage, our Vice-chamberlain, shall make known to you in our name, upon pain of further peril.

To the Court, of Leycester, in the same affair :

I will let the upstart know how easily the hand which has exalted him can beat him down to the dust.

To Mary Queen of Scots, upon hearing of the massacre of Protestants in France :

Whilst the ravens croaked I kept my ears

stopped, like Ulysses, but when my counsellors thought me too improvident I woke from my slumbers

To Mary, who had ordered Randolph, Elizabeth's Ambassador in Edinburgh, to be dismissed.

The like dealing has not been heard of in Christendom between princes I mean in like manner to return your envoy If you will not take the Earl of Murray and his to your favour you cannot but see him [Melville] relieved in my own realm If you direct your ministers on the Borders to persist in refusal to do justice, I shall be fount to do the like

To Mary

Unless you marry as I desire, you will probably forfeit all hope of a peaceful succession to the English crown

To Melville, the Scotch Ambassador, who had asked Elizabeth to send to Mary a ruby or Leicester's picture, both of which she had just shown to him

If Queen Mary will follow my counsel she will get them both in time, and all I have

To the Scottish Ambassador :

If the Queen of Scotland will be guided by me and wishes to marry safely and happily, I will give her a husband who will ensure both ; and this is Lord Robert [Leycester] on whom God has bestowed so many charms that if I were myself to marry I would prefer him to all the princes in the world.

To Bedford and Randolph, who were to try to bring about the marriage of Mary with Leycester :

Among all English noblemen I can see none for my own contentation meeter for the purpose than one who for his good gifts I esteem fit to be placed in the number of kings and princes ; for I think him worthy ; and if he were not born my subject, but had happened with these qualities to be as nobly born under some other prince as he was under myself, the world would have well perceived my estimation of him. The advantage of the marriage to the Earl of Leycester would not be great, but to the Queen of Scots it would be greater than she could have with any other person. The earl would bring with him no controversy of title to

trouble the quietness of the Queen of Scots and I prefer him to be the partaker of the Queen of Scots fortune, whom, if it may be in my power, I will make owner and heir of my own kingdom

To another, who had advised her to nominate Mary as her successor

I could not do so without conceiving a dislike to Mary. How is it possible for me to love anyone whose interest it is to see me dead?

To Mary still in the same affair, referring to the habit of man to worship the rising sun

It was so in my sister's reign and would be so again if I were ever to declare my successor

To de Silva the Spanish Ambassador, shortly after the murder of Riccio

Had I been in Mary's place on the night of Riccio's murder I should have snatched her husband's dagger and stabbed him with it

To her ladies, on learning of the birth of a son to Mary 1566

The Queen of Scots is lighter of a fair son and I am but a barren stock

To Mary, on hearing of the murder of her husband,
Darnley :

Madame, my ears have been so astounded, my intelligence so grieved, and my heart so dismayed to hear the horrible news of the abominable murder of your late husband and my slain cousin, that even yet I have not the heart to write of it, and however much my nature constrains me to mourn his death, belonging so nearly to me by blood—if I am to speak boldly to you that which I think—I cannot hide that I am more sorry for you than for him. Oh, madame, I should not fill the office of faithful cousin or affectionate friend if I studied rather to please your ears than to employ myself in saving your honour. Therefore I shall not hide from you that which the majority of people are saying of it : that you will look between your fingers at revenge for this deed and have no inclination to punish those who have given you such pleasure, as if the thing had not been committed unless the murderers had known their safety for it. For my part, believe, I beg you, that I would not wish such a thought should dwell in my heart ;

for all the gold of the world I would never have so ill a guest lodge in my heart as to have so bad an opinion of any prince whatever, much less shall I have it of her to whom I wish as much good as my heart can imagine or as you yourself could ask. Wherefore I exhort you, I counsel you and I beg you to take this thing so much to heart that you do not fear to strike the very nearest that you have if he be implicated and that no persuasion bar you from making an example to the world that you both are a noble princess and were a true wife. I do not write so vehemently for doubt I have of it, but for the affection I bear you in particular, for I am not ignorant that you have wiser counsellors than I yet when I remember that Our Lord amongst twelve had one Judas and assure myself that one more faithful than I there cannot be I offer you my affection in place of their prudence praying the Creator to give you grace to recognize these traitors and to protect you from them as from ministers of Satan

To de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador

Do you think the Queen of Scotland has been

well treated to have armed men entering her chamber, as if it were that of a public woman, for the purpose of killing a man without reason ?

To Mary, on her escape from the rebels after the murder :

If you had had as much regard to honour as you had respect for a miserable villain [Bothwell], every one would have condoled with your misfortunes, as, to speak plainly, not too many have done. . . . Remember, if you please, that those who have two strings to their bow may shoot strongly but rarely straight.

To Mary, soon after she had married Bothwell :

Madam, it hath been always held for a special principle in friendship that prosperity provideth, but adversity proveth friends ; whereof at this time finding occasion to verify the same with our actions, we have thought meet, both for our professions, and your comfort, in these few words to testify our friendship, not only by admonishing you of the worst, but also to comfort you for the best. We have understood by Robert Melville such things as you gave him in charge to declare on your behalf concerning

your estate and specially of as much as could be said for the allowance of your marriage. Madam to be plain with you our grief hath not been small that in thus your marriage so slender consideration hath been had that as we perceive manifestly no good friend you have in the whole world can like thereof and if we should otherwise write or say we should abuse you for how could a worse choice be made for your honour than in great haste to marry such a subject who besides other notorious lacks public fame hath charged with the murder of your late husband besides the touching of your self also in some part though we trust in that behalf falsely? And with what peril have you married him that hath another wife alive whereby neither by God's law nor man's yourself can be his lawful wife nor any children betwixt you legitimate. Thus you see plainly what we think of the marriage whereof we are heartily sorry that we can conceive no better what colourable reason soever we have heard of your servant to induce us thereto. We wish upon the death of your husband the first care had been to have searched out and punished the

murderers ; which having been done effectually—as easily might have been in a matter so notorious—there might have been many more things tolerated better in your marriage than that now can be suffered to be spoken of. And surely we cannot but for friendship to yourself, besides the natural instinct that we have of blood to your late husband, profess ourselves earnestly bent to do anything in our power to procure the due punishment of that murder against any subject that you have, how dear soever you hold him ; and next thereto, to be careful how your son the prince may be preserved, for the comfort of you and your realm ; which two things we have from the beginning always taken to heart, and therein do mean to continue ; and would be very sorry but you should allow us therein, what dangerous persuasions soever be made to you for the contrary.

Now for your comfort in such adversity as we have heard you should be in—whereof we cannot tell what we think to be true—we assure you, that whatsoever we can imagine meet to be for your honour and safety that shall lie in our power, we will perform the same ; that it shall

well appear you have a good neighbour, a dear sister, a faithful friend, and so shall you undoubtedly always find us and prove us to be indeed towards you, for which purpose we are determined to send with all speed one of our trusty servants, not only to understand your state, but also, thereupon, so to deal with your nobility and people, as they shall find you not to lack our friendship and power for the preservation of your honour and greatness

To Burghley, to send to her Ambassador in Scotland to say to the Scottish lords who had imprisoned Mary

As I am a prince, if they continue to keep her in prison or touch her life or person, I will not fail to revenge it to the uttermost on such as shall be any wise guilty thereof

To Mary

Put yourself in my hands without reserve, I will listen to nothing which shall be said against you, your honour shall be safe, and you shall be restored to your throne

To Mary, Jan. 20, 1568

Perhaps Madame in receiving letters from

me you expect to hear some news of your affairs, which I wish were on so good a footing that your honour should not suffer, but, not to deceive you, I do not see them so clear that there is not much to complain of. Seeing that I understand that they are so deep [*avant*] in that my heart which guides my hand does not permit me to write of them, for a suffering spirit can produce but bitter fruit and I would rather something else than my pen should give you such taste. Receive however such news of your ministers who if they do not make known to you my sincerity most manifest by my conduct in your cause they much deceive you, and injure me too much. And notwithstanding, I cannot forbear to touch upon the desire I have for you that the fine weather of fair promises and the echoes of voices which seem to honour you above all the world should not envelop you in so thick a cloud that you may not see plain day. They are not so dedicated to adoring you as they make your ministers believe. Wherefore I desire that you be not so confiding in your actions and be not blind nor think me blind. To a wise one that is enough. . . .

To Mary after she had come to England

I assure you I will do nothing to hurt you
but rather honour and aid you

To de Quadra, the Spanish Ambassador, who was
endeavouring to learn what she would do with
Mary now that she was in her power

I am thinking of returning her to her King-
dom with the title of Queen but without any
power to govern and I think that her acquittal
should be so arranged that it should be left
in doubt for if her complete innocence were
to be declared it would be dangerous to this
Kingdom to my friends and to myself

To the Bishop of Ross the Scottish Ambassador

I hope that neither the French Ambassador
nor anyone else will think me such a fool since
the Queen of Scots is in my hands as not to
make sure before I release her that she shall
not form a pretext for some other prince to
make war on me

To the French Ambassador who announced that
France would not permit her to keep Mary a
prisoner in England

Her friends have given shelter to the English

rebels, and with her aid and connivance they levied war on me with fire and sword. No sovereign in Europe will sit down under such a provocation, and I would count myself unworthy of realm, crown and name of queen if I endured it.

To Fénélon, the French Ambassador :

I have taken pains to be more than a good mother to the Queen of Scots, yet she, nevertheless, has continually practised intrigues in my kingdom against me, and one who does not know how to behave to a good mother deserves a cruel stepmother.

To the leaders of her Council, who were opposing her course towards Mary :

I shall make you shorter by the head !

To Fénélon :

There seems to be something sublime in the words and bearing of the Queen of Scots that constrains even her enemies to speak well of her.

To Fénélon and du Croc, who asked her to allow Mary to proceed to France :

If His Majesty [the King of France] had had

as much experience of the dangers of the world as the years that I have lived longer than him have taught me he would not request me to deliver into another hand the only surety that God has put into mine for my own safety

To those who were urging her to put Mary to death

Can I put to death the bird that to escape the pursuit of the hawk has fled to my feet for protection? Honour and conscience forbid!

To Gondy confidant of Catherine de Medici, 1578

I know very well that you have come to disturb my country and to act in favour of the worst woman in the world [Mary Queen of Scots] whose head should have been cut off years ago She shall never be free as long as I live even though it cost me my realm and my liberty

To Mary

You will think the writer has drank of the water of Lethe but there is no such river in England

To Mary who had been inciting rebellion in England

These be the bypaths which those follow who fear the open road I say not this for any dread

I feel of harm that you may do me. My trust is in Him who governs all things by His justice, and with this faith I know no alarm.

To Mary :

I am informed that open rebels against my authority are receiving countenance and favour from yourself and your counsellors. . . . Remove these briars, I pray you, lest some thorn prick your heel. Such matters hurt to the quick. It is not by such ways as these that you will attain the object of your wishes.

To Mary, who had been harbouring English enemies of Elizabeth :

The stone often recoils on the head of the thrower.

To Mary, for assisting enemies of Elizabeth :

If you are amusing yourself at my expense, do not think so poorly of me that I will suffer such wrong without avenging it. Remember, my dear sister, that if you desire my affection you must learn to deserve it.

To the Scottish Ambassador :

No human power will ever persuade me to sign the warrant for Mary's execution.

To the French Ambassador, who had been especially sent to urge leniency to Mary

I am very sorry that you have not been sent upon a better occasion I have been compelled to come to the resolution I have taken because it is impossible to save my own life if I preserve that of the Queen of Scots, but if you ambassadors can point out any means whereby I may do it consistently with my own security, I shall be greatly obliged to you never having shed so many tears at the death of my father, of my brother King Edward or my sister Mary as I have done for this unfortunate affair

To a person now unknown

If Elizabeth is to live Mary must die

To Mary when she refused to acknowledge the right of an English tribunal to try a Scottish Queen

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

You have in various ways and manners attempted to take my life and to bring my kingdom to destruction by bloodshed I have never proceeded so harshly against you but have on the contrary protected and main

tained you like myself. These treasons will be proved to you, and all made manifest.

Yet it is my will that you answer the nobles and peers of the kingdom as if I were myself present. I, therefore, require, charge, and command, that you make answer, for I have been well informed of your arrogance.

Act plainly, without reserve, and you will sooner be able to obtain favour of me.

ELIZABETH.

To the French Ambassadors, who were urging her in the name of their King to save Mary from execution:

I gave you several days to consider some means by which I could without being in danger of losing my own life preserve hers ; and having heard nothing from you on that point, and I not having found any other expedient, I am not at liberty to be cruel against myself, and his Majesty should not consider it just that I who am innocent should die and that the Queen of Scots who is guilty should be saved.

To the deputation of Parliament, urging her to carry out the sentence of death on Mary:

So many and so great are the bottomless

graces and immeasurable benefits bestowed upon me by the Almighty, that I must not only most humbly acknowledge them as benefits, but admire them as miracles, being in no sort able to express them. And though there liveth not any that may more justly acknowledge himself bound to God than I, whose life he hath miraculously preserved from so many dangers, yet am I not more deeply bound to give him thanks for any one thing, than for this which I will now tell you, and which I account as a miracle, namely that as I came to the Crown with the most hearty goodwill of all my subjects so now after 28 years reign I perceive in them the same, if not greater, good will towards me: which if I once lose well might I breathe, but never think I lived. And now though my life hath been dangerously shot at, yet I protest there is nothing hath more grieved me, than that one not differing from me in sex of like rank and degree, of the same stock, and most nearly allied unto me in blood hath fallen into so great a crime. And so far have I been from bearing her any ill will, that upon the discovery of certain treasonable practices against me, I wrote

unto her secretly that if she would confess them by a private letter unto myself, they should be wrapped up in silence. Neither did I write thus in mind to intrap her, for I knew then as much as she could confess. And even yet, though the matter be come thus far, if she would truly repent, and no man would undertake her cause against me, and if my life alone depended hereupon, and not the safety and welfare of my whole people, I would (I protest unfeinedly) most willingly pardon her. Nay if England might by my death attain a more flourishing Estate and a better Prince, I would most gladly lay down my life. For, for your sakes it is, and for my peoples that I desire to live. As for me, I see no such great cause why I should either be fond to live, or fear to die. I have had good experience of this world, and I know what it is to be a subject and what to be a Sovereign. Good neighbours I have had, and I have met with bad : and in trust I have found treason. I have bestowed benefits upon ill deservers, and where I have done well, have been ill requited. While I call to mind these things past, behold things present, and expect

things to come, I hold them happiest that go hence soonest. Nevertheless against such mischiefs as these I put on a better courage than is common to my sex so as whatsoever befall me death shall not take me unprepared.

Princes are set as it were upon stages in the sight and view of all the world. The least spot is soon spied in our garments, a blemish quickly noted in our doings. It behoveth us therefore to be careful that our proceedings be just and honourable. But I must tell you one thing that by this last Act of Parliament you have brought me to a narrow straight that I must give order for her death which is a Princess most nearly allied unto me in blood and whose practices against me have stricken me into so great grief that I have been glad to absent myself from this Parliament lest I should increase my sorrow by hearing it spoken of and not out of fear of any danger—as some think. But yet I will now tell you a secret (though it is well known that I have the property to keep counsaile). It is not long since these eyes of mine saw and read an oath wherein some bound themselves to kill me within a

month. Hereby, I see your danger in me which I will be very careful to avoid. Your association for my safety I have not forgotten, which I never so much as thought of till a great number of bonds with many obligations were shewed me: which as I do acknowledge as a strong argument of your true hearts and great zeal to my safety, so shall my bond be stronger tied to a greater care for your good. But forasmuch as this matter now in hand is very rare and of greatest consequence, I hope you do not look for any present resolution: for my manner is, in matters of less moment than this, to deliberate long upon that which is once to be resolved. In the mean time I beseech Almighty God to illuminate my mind that I may foresee that which may serve for the good of his Church, the prosperity of the Commonwealth and your safety. And that delay may not breed danger, we will signify our resolution with all conveniency. And what ever the best subjects may expect at the hands of the best Princess, that expect from me to be performed to the full.

To Leycester, who had explained to her that the Scots were proposing that Mary would demit her right of the English succession to her son.

Is it so? Get rid of one and have a worse in her place? Nay, then, I put myself in a worse place than before By God's passion! that were to cut my own throat! and for a duchy or earldom to yourself, you, or such as you, would cause some of your desperate knaves to kill me No by God! He (that is, James, Mary's son) shall never be in that place [An Ambassador present pleaded that Mary be spared for fifteen days for negotiations to continue His companion in the request, when Elizabeth refused that period, asked for only eight days' delay But Elizabeth left the room with] No not for an hour!

To the French Ambassador, who had offered to give her two sons of the blood royal of France as hostages for her security if she would release Mary:

Such hostages will be of little help to me after I have lost my life, which I am sure will be the case if the Queen of Scots be allowed to live

To herself, muttering as she was endeavouring to come to a decision about the execution of Mary :

Aut fere, aut feri !—Ne feriare feri ! [Bear or strike !—Strike that you be not struck !]

To herself, when confronted with the necessity of executing Mary :

Among the thousands who profess to be attached to me as a sovereign, not one will spare me the painful task of dipping my hands in the blood of a sister queen.

To Davison, complaining of Paulet and others who had refused to comply with Elizabeth's request that they assassinate Mary in order that thus Elizabeth might escape issuing the order for the legal execution. Paulet and his friends well knew that their acquiescence would mean their own deaths, for they would be immediately disavowed and beheaded for murder, to save Elizabeth's reputation. They must have known many precedents in history to warn them :

The daintiness and perjury of Paulet and the others who, contrary to their oath of association [referring to the Association formed by Leicester to preserve her life and pursue to death those who sought her life] do cast the burden

upon myself!—the niceness of these precise fellows who, in words, would do great things for my surety, but, indeed, perform nothing

To Davison, after she had signed the warrant for the execution of Mary, and he saw that she was still urging that Mary be privately killed so as to save her own name. He asked her what this all meant.

“Have you not a full and resolute meaning to go through with the execution according to the warrant? She replied

Yes—only I think it might have received a better form because this throws all the responsibility on myself [He replied that any other way of disposing of Mary was contrary to all the law of England. But she at once said] There are wiser men than you in the kingdom of other opinion

To the French Ambassador, after the execution of Mary

I have experienced one of the greatest misfortunes and vexations that has ever befallen me, which was the death of my cousin german, of which I am innocent. I did indeed sign the warrant but it was only to satisfy my subjects as I never intended to put her to death,

except in case of a foreign invasion, or a formidable insurrection of my own subjects. The members of my council have played me a trick which I can never forgive, and by God ! but for their long services, and for the supposition that they acted out of consideration for the welfare and safety of my person and my state, every one of them would lose his head !

To the French Ambassador, after the imprisonment in the Tower of Secretary Davison for obeying her orders—which she now denied—to carry out the execution of Mary :

I beg you not to believe that I would be so wicked as to throw the blame on an humble secretary [for the execution] if it were not true.

To the French Ambassador, after the execution of Mary :

This death will wring my heart as long as I live.

To Roger, an attaché of the French Embassy, on the day after she had committed Davison to the Tower to throw the blame on him for her execution of Mary :

I am deeply afflicted by the death of the Queen of Scotland whom it was never my

intention to put to death Davison took me by surprise but he is now in a place where he will have to answer for it and you will tell his Majesty of France so (Elizabeth never relented and ruined Davison after a long imprisonment)

To Frederick II of Denmark a Latin letter never before printed in English and only printed at all and then only most imperfectly by Treschow (in the original) and by a Danish magazine in 1823

Most serene Prince and dearest Brother
Whereas we suspect that the report of the death of the Scottish Queen will be spread by the noble bearer of this letter or even before he happens to enter the kingdom of Denmark we have judged that the way in which it was brought about must be truly and faithfully revealed to your Serenity We do not doubt that your Serenity has heard in what great and criminal plots for our death and the overthrow of our state that Queen has been not once but repeatedly detected And this has been most evidently proved by many letters of the Queen herself by the confession of her secretaries and by the witness of many who conspired for our

death at her bidding. And on those conspirators the laws inflicted due penalties, after they confessed, immediately after their arrest and also torture, the whole of those plottings.

Now the Queen, as day by day she laid snares against our life, was condemned to death by just sentence, on the authority of the three estates called Parliament, who often wearied us with their repeated prayers that we should rather abandon her to the death she merited than perpetually as long as she lived contend for our life with her emissaries, and at the same time too showed us clearly that no human skill could find a way by which we could be in safety whilst she was safe ; Yet on account of our connexion by blood, we could never bear to surrender her to punishment, but at the request of our close friends we merely signed an order that that punishment should be inflicted only in the case of some rising or insurrection being stirred up on behalf of that Queen for our destruction. This order we gave into the keeping of a certain secretary of ours, solemnly charging him not to betray its contents to any one, nor to do anything in that matter without

consulting us first And he forthwith dis-
regarding these instructions (after consultation
with some of our counsellors) with headlong
haste unknown to us sent the order for execu-
tion and they now excuse themselves on the
ground of their fear that by our excessive
clemency we should hasten our own ruin

Thus without our will by the rash action of
this secretary that Queen (although it cannot
be denied full of guilt) when we God be witness
suspected nothing of the sort was put to death
The secretary however we have thrown into
the Tower for his manifest contempt of our
instructions that he may render to us an exact
account of his unexpected deed

It has been our wish to declare this openly
to your Serenity in this letter not because we
fear that the execution of this Queen which we
had every right to carry out and should cer-
tainly have done so had we merely had regard
to our own peril be imputed to us but that
you may understand the course of these events
in truth and sincerity as our sisterly spirit
prompts us and that nothing more grievous
than this single deed has befallen us in life

To James VI. of Scotland, the young son (he was then twenty) of Mary, just after her execution : .

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO KING JAMES VI.

February 14, 1587.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I would you know (though not felt) the extreme dolour that overwhelms my mind for that *miserable accident*, which, far contrary to my meaning, hath befallen. I have now sent this kinsman of mine, whom, ere now, it hath pleased you to favour, to instruct you truly of that, which is irksome for my pen to tell you.

I beseech you—that as God and many *moe* know how innocent I am in this case—so you will believe me, that if I had bid aught, I would have abided by it. I am not so base-minded, that the fear of any living creature, or prince, should make me afraid to do that were just, or, when done, to deny the same. I am not of so base a lineage, nor carry so vile a mind. But as to disguise fits not the mind of a king, so will I never dissemble my actions, but cause them to shew even as I meant them. Thus assuring yourself of me, that as I know this was deserved, yet, if I had meant it, I would never

lay it on others' shoulders, no more will I not
damnify myself that thought it not —Your
most assured loving sister and cousin,

ELIZABETH R

To Stafford communicating her fear of being dragged
into wars in the Netherlands through Alençon

We willingly will not repose our whole trust
so far on the French nation as we will give them
in pawn all our fortune and afterwards stand to
their discretion I hope I shall not live to see
that hour

To the French Ambassador Henry IV was then
in a desperate fight for his throne. How desperate
was his situation would only appear in the reports
of the French Ambassadors in London, but these
precious documents have been destroyed, probably
contemporaneously, to efface the great dependence
which Henry the Great was forced to place upon
Elizabeth Evidently the French monarch was
here appealing for further aid

Tell His Majesty that there is no other crea-
ture in the world who bears him so much affec-
tion and so desires his welfare and prosperity
as I do But I beg him to consider in what
estate I am As for myself, I am an old and

powerless woman. I have affairs of great and diverse character, a people who, although making a great show of loving me, are nevertheless frivolous and inconstant, and I have everything to bear ; that in the last session [of Parliament] they had constantly complained that the treasures of England and their own were sent out of the Kingdom to Flanders and France ; that Englishmen were sent to die outside their own country, whereas they should remain at home for its defence ; and that within the last three or four years more than 20,000 had died in foreign lands : " Whatever follies kings commit, the Greeks are punished," and that therefore I am not without great sorrow.

To the French Ambassador, with regard to conspirators against his King. This was subsequent to her execution of Essex :

I have no doubt His Majesty, being accustomed to these conspiracies, and being a man whose soul is always more inclined to pardon and forget injuries, suffers greatly in deciding to punish de Biron, whom he always loved and honoured ; but I have proven too well how strong is this suffering, which I shall regret all

my life , but for the welfare of my State, the example and security of my successors I have not wished to pardon , I have found this course successful and I am convinced that His Majesty by following the same rule will establish similar peace

To Fénelon when he came to announce the birth of a princess to the King and Queen of France, which event had taken place the very day that the father, his mother, his brothers and the King of Navarre had gone by torchlight to witness the execution of two political opponents

I regret that the princess's royal father should have polluted the day of her birth by so sad a spectacle as that which his Majesty had gone to see in the Grève

To the Spanish Ambassador , 1559, æt. 26

I yearn to be a nun and to pass my days in prayer in a cell [The comment of de Quadra to his government as to this is that it is " a pretty business to treat with this woman who, I think must have an hundred thousand devils in her body in spite of her forever telling me " the above]

To the Spanish Ambassador, when he had threatened her with ruin ; 1559, æt. 25 :

Who will bring it about, your king or the king of France ?

To the Spanish Ambassador, at the beginning of her reign :

I mean to hold what is mine in my own kingdom as my father did.

To somebody unknown ; reported by the Spanish Ambassador to his King. The Spaniards and Germans were stirring up trouble in Scotland ; æt. 27 :

While I have a drop of blood in my body, I shall not cease to seek revenge on the King of Spain and to settle with the Germans.

To the Duke of Alva, Spanish commander in the Netherlands, explaining why she had put into her own exchequer an enormous amount of money which she had seized from four Spanish ships which French pirates had driven into her ports. England and Spain were at peace. The money was to pay Spanish troops in the Netherlands, and was, as Elizabeth knew, still the property of the Genoese bankers who were to lend it to Spain :

It being known for a fact that the treasure belonged to the merchants, I thought it well

after its due preservation from the perils of the sea by an act not unreasonable or contrary to the honourable usages of princes in their dominions to arrange with its owners with their goodwill and not otherwise to borrow it [She seems to have retained the funds]

To the Spanish Ambassador, who had delivered to Elizabeth in Latin this ultimatum, as the Armada was about to sail

*Belgic Rebels aid no more
Treasures seized by Drake restore ,
And whate'er thy sire o'erthrew
In the Papal Church renew*

The Queen's impromptu reply in the same tongue was

Your orders good King shall be obeyed on the Greek kalends [That is never, for the Greeks never reckoned by kalends]

To Fénelon the French Ambassador, referring to Alva, the Spanish Governor in the Netherlands, who had put an embargo on all English and their property in Antwerp in retaliation for her seizure of the Genoese money mentioned above Elizabeth then put every Spaniard in England including the Ambassador, under arrest

The Duke of Alva has behaved both arrogantly and lightly : arrogantly, in only deigning to write me one little note which I must compare with a Valentine ; and lightly, in that, without provocation, he has executed an act, not only of seizure but of open hostility against all my subjects. The Duke is neither so great, myself so insignificant nor the affair so unimportant, but that he might have taken the trouble to write fully to me, and to have sent to find out how things were going before attempting such an outrage against me and my subjects.

To the French Ambassador ; 1597 :

If I had not had a better conscience than the King of Spain, I could have injured him greatly ; it only depended upon me ; but for me the whole of the Low Countries would have given themselves to me, but I did not wish to occupy that which did not belong to me ; I could have done the same with the Indies, where had I wished I could have had a big share.

To her Court, before the Armada sailed from Spain :

By God's death, I would send my fleet to

disperse the Armada even if it were in the interior of Spain

To the French Ambassador, speaking of Philip III ,
then but twenty three

I am not afraid of a king of Spain who has
been up to the age of twelve learning his
alphabet

To a lady of Queen Mary's household who in that
Queen's reign had been particularly cruel towards
Elizabeth, but who now asked most abjectly for
pardon

Fear not we are of the nature of the lion, and
cannot descend to the destruction of mice and
such small beasts

To the Portuguese Ambassador, 1561, *æt.* 27

I shall swamp all those who are trying to ruin
me

To one of her Councillors who reported defiant
language of Morton the Scottish Ambassador

That language the Earl of Morton never
brought with him from Scotland It was put
into his mouth by some of my own Council, and
they ought to be hanged outside the castle door
with their words about their necks

To the Scottish authorities, telling them to keep order on her borders :

Unless you see the matter redressed, I will reform it myself in such sharp manner as the offenders shall repent themselves and be unable to commit the like again.

To a member of her Council who was causing disturbance to her plans for Scotland ; 1571, æt. 37 :

You are a fool ! [And to another :] You are a madman !

To an attendant, after Sir Mathew Arundel, under her critical scrutiny, had made a far better exhibition of fringed personal adornment than of brains. In complete disgust at his peacock manner, the Queen could not resist spitting on his gaudy raiment and ejaculating :

The fool's wit has gone to rags !

To Burghley after the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, and seeking to lay the blame for it upon him :

You are a traitor, a false dissembler and a wicked wretch. Avoid my presence !

To Lord Burghley, when he was aged sixty-eight ; 1588, Armada year :

You are too old and doting.

To Northampton who had urged her to permit the naming of her successor

And you my Lord of Northampton, you who when you had a wife of your own could quote Scripture texts to help you to another! You forsooth must meddle with marriages for me!

To de Silva, the Spanish Ambassador, referring to her information that his master with the French King and the Emperor would together attack her

If they try any such game, they will find that I know how to defend myself

To de Noailles the French Ambassador, who had announced that his master was sending a large army to Scotland "to suppress the rebellion there"

You do well Look to your own affairs and I shall look to mine Those armies and fleets of yours in Normandy are not meant for Scotland only

Overheard saying to herself, when James of Scotland, then about fifteen, would not permit her messenger to cross his borders

That crafty boy of Scotland! That villain for whom I have done so much! The night before Morton was taken he could call him

father! He could say that he had no friend like Morton who had brought him up and that he would protect him! And the next day he had him seized and cut off his head. What am I to look for from such a double-tongued scoundrel?

To James VI. of Scotland, who had been seized by the Protestant nobles:

Judge of me therefore as a king that carrieth no abject nature; and think this of me, that rather than your danger I will venture mine. And albeit I must confess that it is dangerous for a prince to irritate too much through evil advice the generality of great subjects, so might you ere now have followed my advice that would never betray you with unsound counsel. . . . Fear not, for your life must be theirs, or else they shall smart, every mother's son of them.

To the Ambassador of Ferdinand, the Emperor, referring to that monarch:

He is a fine Catholic and knows how to tell his beads and pray for the souls in purgatory!

To the French Ambassador, who had demanded that she give up Montgomeri, one of the French King's religious rebels:

If he enters this kingdom, I shall reply to the

King of France in the same words that the late King, his father, used to the late Queen Mary, my sister, " I refuse to be the Queen of England's executioner " And in the same way, I hope His Majesty will excuse me if I do not wish to be hangman to those of my own religion, any more than he wished to be in the case of those who were not of his

To Catherine de' Medici, complaining that her son, Henry III of France, had not complied with Elizabeth's request for one of her traitors who had taken refuge in France

Your Majesty is wise so I shall say no more ; but that if the dead were living, he would not permit such an insult, and one which happened at a bad time, for never was I more devoted to any prince than to the King both in heart and will, as my own acts would have shortly proved, as God knows

To the States of Holland, which had not kept an agreement for undermuzzing some of her subjects

If you do not very soon see to giving them better satisfaction than heretofore, we shall be obliged to consider of remedies therefor, and

for the maintenance of our honour, such as will haply not be wholly agreeable to you.

To the Emperor Maximilian, who has asked her how much allowance she proposes to make to his son if he marry her :

I think that he has not so little to spend but that he cannot honourably look to his side of the family.

To Killegrew to transmit to the Regent of Scotland, who had detained one of her officials :

The detaining of the Warden is a thing that so much wounds my honour that so foul a fact can in no ways by him be excused. If I shall prosecute my just revenge he will then learn what it is for one of his base calling to offend one of my quality.

To the French Ambassadors, who were urging her to counsel Navarre to submit to the French King :

He is of age !

To Leycester who, jealous of her admiration for the dancing of Hatton, had offered to introduce to her a dancing master who could excel him :

Pish ! I will not see your man ; it is his trade !

To Fénelon, referring to Norfolk, Arundel, Leicester and Pembroke She had already seized Norfolk

These men are only subjects advanced by me, and as I made them so can I unmake them and having already laid my hand on the greatest of them I will put it on the smaller fry when I wish

To her ladies after listening to a sermon by the Bishop of London, who had arraigned those who dressed too elaborately

If the bishop holds more discourse on such matters I will fit him for heaven, but he will walk thither without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him

To Fénelon, referring to some reports she had just had from his country

I have been ridiculed by the buffoons of the French Court at the instigation of the Duke of Guise the relative of Louise of Lorraine, aided by the Queen Mother Catherine They moreover dressed up a buffoon in the English fashion, and called him in derision, a *mirror of the north*, but in reality the buffoon represented King Henry VIII

The Queen mother should not have spoken

so dishonourably and so derisively of so illustrious a prince as my late father, King Henry ; and Lord North [Elizabeth's informant] ought to have told them who were mimicking him that the tailors of France can easily recollect the cut of the clothes of this great king, for he crossed to France more than once with his war flags flying and had considerable business with the people he found there !

To the Spanish Ambassador, who endeavoured to save the life of Storey, a traitor, by claiming that he was one of the subjects of Philip II. of Spain :

The King of Spain may have his head if he wants it, but his body shall be left in England.

To the Duke of Norfolk, in the matter of his proposal to marry Mary Queen of Scots :

I would wish you to take good heed of your pillow.

To Murray, who had been encouraged by her to foment the opposition in Scotland against the marriage of Mary and Darnley, and who had publicly asserted that she had done so. She then announced she would not see him until he and his friends denied her support of them. When given audience at last, Murray and his friends fell on their knees before Elizabeth and the French and Spanish Ambassadors

and declared that she had never inspired them to oppose the marriage Elizabeth then burst out

Now ye have spoken the truth Get from my presence traitors as ye are

To Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador who had been complaining against Drake's piracy

I will make no restitution till your king has given me full satisfaction about Ireland I first received offence I must first receive reparation

To Walsingham who after belittling Alençon for years was now praising him

Then thou knave why hast thou so many times said ill of him? Thou art as changeable as a weathercock!

To Hatton who asked her how she would extricate herself from the promise to marry Alençon

With words!—the coin most current with the French when the field is large and the soldiers cowards there are always means of creeping out

To de Guaras Spanish agent in England speaking of the continual imprisonment of English seamen in Spanish ports

I promise ye that my father would not have

put up with it, and if the matter is not amended I shall be obliged to order the arrest of the king of Spain's subjects and treat them in the same way.

To Mendoza, when he had said to her: "Your Majesty will not hear words, so we must come to cannon, and see if you will hear them." He writes that then, "Quietly, in her most natural voice, as if she were telling a common story, she said":

If you use threats of that kind I will fling you into a dungeon.

To Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador:

By God! I will have the Treaty of Ghent allowed, or I will stand by the States [the Netherlands] as long as I have a man left in the realm to fight for them.

To the Spanish Ambassador:

If the Pope or your king sends any help into Ireland I will let out at Flanders and get the French to go in with me.

To Diego Botello, who had been sent to her by Don Antonio, the Portuguese Pretender, after being long in London, and whose cause Elizabeth had espoused because of his potential possibility as a

serious danger to Spain. He had just been pressing her for hurried action of a more determined nature than she had yet vouchsafed him. To bring her to his views, he had instructed Botello to threaten that if she did not promptly comply with these requests, he and all of his suite would have to ask for passports—a manner of seeking favours never very successful with Elizabeth nor with her people, then or now, as her reply indicates.

If the King my brother is in such a hurry in his affairs he may go whithersoever he pleases, the road is open.

To Burghley, who had first suggested that she had a right to the ransom paid by Cadix to Essex, and then turned about when he needed to conciliate him, and told her that she had no claim upon it, but that Essex had done right in distributing it among his officers and men.

You are a miscreant and a coward! You are more afraid of Essex than I am!

To her godson, Harrington, whom Essex had without warrant knighted in their stay in Ireland, upon seeing him for the first time after the return of Essex from his command in that country against her admonitions.

What! did the fool bring you too? Go back to your business!

To Harrington, when he knelt before her and pleaded for leniency for Essex. Seizing him by the belt she swore :

By God's son ! I am no Queen ! That man is above me ! Who gave him command to come here so soon ? I did send him on other business.

To one of her Council, at Greenwich :

You are a fool and a hot-head. Don't let me find you in my presence with my Council again.

To Mistress Montague, her silk woman, who knit and gave her for New Year's Day, 1559, the first silk stockings the Queen had ever owned. The giver, seeing them so well liked, promised to put more in hand :

Do so, for indeed I like silk stockings well, because they are pleasant, fine and delicate, and henceforth I shall wear no more cloth stockings.

To her judges on their assuming office; 1559, æt. 25 :

They who know what cares I bear, would not think I took any great joy in wearing a crown.

To some one unknown, speaking of appointing a successor ; reported by the Spanish Ambassador, de Silva :

I do not want any one to whom my subjects

can go secretly, and offer their devotion as they did to me when I was a prisoner

To her Court, when the northern Earls Northumberland, Westmoreland the Nortons and Nevilles, rose in rebellion against her

The earls are old in blood but poor in force

To Fénelon

I for my part I pray to God that I shall not live one hour after I have thought of using deception

To Alençon who has captured Cambray and thinks of abandoning it

As for Cambray it is for you to consider the honour which you have gained in acquiring it and that to strip yourself of it without security for a better garment will leave you too cold this winter

To Catherine de Medici

I am glad you and the King can so far forget my sex as to give me the credit of one who can hold my tongue

To a servant in Burghley's house when she was about to enter his sick-chamber, who had counselled her

to stoop so as not to disarrange her head-dress by an overhanging curtain :

For your master's sake I will stoop, but not for the King of Spain.

To Fénelon :

God has given such brave soldiers to this Crown that, if they do not frighten our neighbours, at least they prevent us from being frightened by them.

To de Foix, the French Ambassador, who was urging her to marry a French prince, and who complained that she had compelled him to wait six days without an answer to his last proposition :

I know that it is true I have the imperfection of being longer than necessary in coming to a conclusion in these deliberations—a fault that has caused me much injury in the past . . . it is true that the world was made in six days, but it was by God, to whose power the infirmity of men is not to be compared.

To the French Ambassador :

When I came to the throne, I knew six languages better than my own.

To one of her company when she was in the law-courts listening to an argument against her by Egerton

By my troth, he shall never plead against me again ! [And she immediately retained his services for ever afterward raising him to high place which he filled with great honour]

To the Spanish Ambassador, 1580

The use of the sea and air is common to all, neither can a title to the ocean belong to any people or private persons forasmuch as neither nature nor public use and custom permit any possession thereof

To her Court, after the terrible war of extermination her forces under Mountjoy had introduced into Ireland

I find that I sent wolves not shepherds to govern Ireland for they have left me nothing but ashes and carcasses to reign over !

To an attendant who remarked that there were several great offices which must be filled

I am sure my place will not long be vacant !

To Lord North who told her in response to her inquiry, as he was carving at her table one day, that a certain uncovered dish contained a "coffin," which

seems to have been a meat pie of some sort of joint of the time. The Queen said, in a voice that apparently for ever changed the name of the dish [certainly I have never seen the old name used as of a later date]:

And are you such a fool as to give a pie such a name ?

To her ladies, on the subject of her epitaph :

I am no lover of pompous title, but only desire that my name may be recorded in a line or two, which shall briefly express my name, my virginity, the years of my reign, the reformation of religion under it, and my preservation of peace.

To her godson, Harrington, four months before her death, when he had tried to divert her with some of his comical writings :

When thou dost feel creeping time at thy gate these fooleries will please thee less. I am past my relish for such matters.

Her last letter to the French King, only a month or so before her death ; 1603, æt. 69 :

All the fabric of my reign, little by little, is beginning to fall.

To Lady Scroope, one of her closest relatives as well as friends, and a maid of honour, as the Queen was entering upon her last illness :

I saw one night my own body exceedingly lean and fearful in a light of fire Are you wont to see sights in the night ?

To the Lord Admiral, Howard, who had been called in to see if he could persuade her to return to bed .

If you were in the habit of seeing such things in your bed as I do when in mine you would not persuade me to go there.

To Cecil, who was a hunchback and very short, when he had told her that "to content the people you must go bed"

The word " must " is not to be used to princes Little man, little man, if your father had lived ye durst not have said so much , but ye know I must die and that makes ye so presumptuous

To the Lord Admiral, Howard, a near relative and a fast friend all through their lives , she had sent all the rest of her entourage out of the death chamber and was alone with him

My lord, I am tied with a chain of iron about my neck I am tied, I am tied, and the case is altered with me

To Cecil, whom she knew to have told outside that she had become mad in these last days :

Cecil, I know that I am not mad. You must not think to make Queen Jane of me ! [The allusion seems probably to have been to the insane Joanna, mother of Charles V.].

To the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was praying by her side the last night and who had been calling to her mind her great accomplishments as a monarch. These appear to have been her last words :

My lord, the crown which I have borne so long has given enough of vanity in my time. I beseech you not to augment it in this hour when I am so near my death.

THE SAYINGS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

By FREDERICK CHAMBERLIN

Illustrated with facsimile reproduction of two
contemporary miniatures.

Demy 8vo.

16/- net.

"Mr. Frederick Chamberlin has done Queen Elizabeth a service which might with advantage be done to all the impressive figures in history over whose personalities historians have waxed controversial and laymen grown perplexed. The book is wise, it is witty, it is exciting, it is incontrovertibly true. And it reveals its authoress as, if not the greatest, perhaps the most astonishingly dynamic, unscrupulous, single-minded, admirable, and unlovable woman in the annals of fact or fiction."—*Weekly Westminster*.

"There is a freshness, a vividness, and an unconventional fascination in Elizabeth's sayings.

"We take leave of Mr. Chamberlin's book with the feeling that he has produced not only a very useful handbook for the historian, but something much more important—a book which will give inspiration and delight to the whole English-speaking world, for Queen Elizabeth is, like Shakespeare and the Bible, the admitted possession of every one who speaks the English tongue."—*Spectator*.

"There is something worth quoting on nearly every page of this book; but it must be read as a whole to appreciate how thoroughly Mr. Chamberlin has done his self-appointed task of making a word-portrait of Queen Elizabeth—out of her own words."

Evening Standard.

JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD LTD., VIGO ST., W. 1

THE SAYINGS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

By FREDERICK CHAMBERLIN

Illustrated with facsimile reproduction of two
contemporary miniature.

Demy 8vo.

16 net

Mr Chamberlin has industriously assembled a large collection of Elizabeth's comments and remarks, and has grouped them with some ingenuity. Its pages contain a self-revelation of Elizabeth's character and much of the history of her reign.

Times Literary Supplement

A character study of the Queen—complete in the material which it contains—as we have not hitherto possessed.”—*Weekly Westminster Gazette*

Her Sayings give us a document which comes nearer than anything we have had to be an autobiography of her—so much personal self-revelation.”

Graphic

Mr Chamberlin's new book deserves the heartiest praise. It is the result of profound and careful research. It is rigidly honest and uncompromising in its revelation alike of Elizabeth's virtues and of her failings. —*Illustrated London News*.

The book was well worth doing and the method is one which we should like to see more widely applied.”

Outlet

It is a book to thrill the soul of any Englishman worthy of the name. —*Referee*

Certainly sheds much light upon her character and policy.”—*Graphic*

JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD LTD., VICO ST. W. 1

THE SAYINGS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

By FREDERICK CHAMBERLIN

Illustrated with facsimile reproduction of two
contemporary miniatures.

Demy 8vo.

16/- net.

"A splendid book . . . a book to warm a patriot's heart."—*Daily Mail*.

"Mr. Chamberlin's remarkable book, 'The Private Character of Queen Elizabeth,' created a profound impression for its outspokenness and amazing thoroughness. He has now collected some equally astonishing sayings of the great Queen."—*Daily Graphic*.

SOCIETY WOMEN OF SHAKESPEARE'S TIME

By VIOLET WILSON

Author of "Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour,"
"The Coaching Era," etc.

Illustrated. Demy 8vo. 12/6 net.

An attractively written book on the great ladies of the Elizabethan days, illustrated from portraits of the time.

JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD LTD., VIGO ST., W. 1

THE PRIVATE CHARACTER OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

By FREDERICK CHAMBERLIN

With Eight Illustrations and Numerous Facsimiles

Demy 8vo. Third Edition. 18/ net.

There was room for Mr Chamberlin's inquiry and he has produced what is in many respects a valuable piece of work. He seems to us to have succeeded

in proving that there is no historical basis for the graver charges against the Queen's personal character.

He has made a real contribution to the subject and has brought new evidence to light—he has given us an important historical work.

Times Literary Supplement

Mr Chamberlin has in our opinion cleared the character of Queen Elizabeth. We cannot summarise the evidence—but we advise all students of

the period to study it for it throws a great deal of light on the most interesting period of English history.

Before we leave his book we desire to congratulate Mr Chamberlin once more on his vindication and for his deep and chivalrous sympathy with the great hearted capricious sorely tried woman he defends."

Spectator

Has a permanent historical value.

Saturday Review

JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD LTD VICO ST, W 1

THE PRIVATE CHARACTER OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

By FREDERICK CHAMBERLIN

With Eight Illustrations and Numerous Facsimiles

Demy 8vo. Third Edition. 18/- net.

"One of the most interesting and intriguing contributions to English history is Mr. Chamberlin's recently published 'Private Character of Queen Elizabeth.' It is one of the most outspoken books ever written."

Bystander.

"Mr. Chamberlin has performed a useful piece of work with commendable industry."

Westminster Gazette.

"An absorbingly interesting study. . . . History of an extraordinary realistic nature."—*To-Day.*

"Amazing frankness."—*Daily Express.*

"He quotes and investigates every charge or insinuation that is to be found in documents of the time, shows the inadequacy of any evidence with which they are supported, and finally presents some testimonies not previously cited which are of very substantial weight in the opposite scale . . . the fruit of much original research."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

"This book is uncommonly interesting, and its industry deserves high praise."—*New Statesman.*

JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD LTD., VIGO ST., W. 1

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S MAIDS OF HONOUR AND LADIES OF THE PRIVY CHAMBER BY VIOLET A. WILSON

Illustrated.

Third Edition.

Demy 8vo.

15/- net.

"This handsome and well-illustrated volume performs even better than its title promises. It not only gives full and entertaining biographies of various members of that extremely interesting group, Elizabeth's Maids of Honour, but a good deal of biographical and historical matter that is not closely germane to the ladies in question"—*Sunday Times*

"A lively and amusing account of the bevy of fair women attached to Elizabeth, and incidentally of her Court and manner. . . . One of the great finds of the book is its account of what must have been the first game of lawn tennis ever played on one of the lawns of Elvetham, Hants."—*Daily Mail*.

"Her narrative is based upon wide research, and many of her stories, especially those of the Ladies Catherine and Mary Grey, are full of genuine pathos."—*Daily Telegraph*.

"Many famous names and many strange stories are to be found in its pages. Miss Wilson has the gift of the story teller, and has produced a picture of Elizabeth and her Court which is fitted to both interest and amuse readers"—*Times Literary Supplement*

JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD LTD, VICO ST., W 1

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S
MAIDS OF HONOUR
AND
LADIES OF THE PRIVY CHAMBER

By VIOLET A. WILSON

Illustrated.

Third Edition.

Demy 8vo.

15/- net.

"A vivid picture of the life of Elizabeth's Court."
Grafcic.

"Miss Wilson draws an interesting picture full of gaiety and intrigue."—*Westminster Gazette.*

"The book is really a very interesting picture of life in those far-off times wherein human nature, at least, differed not a whit from our own."

Pall Mall Gazette.

"A most attractive piece of work. The whole book is picturesque. A careful and bright account of Elizabeth's Court."—*British Weekly.*

"Miss Wilson's vivid presentment of Elizabeth and her Court is extremely enlivening."—*Field.*

"The reader will enjoy these descriptions of Elizabethan Court life, so full of colour, movement, pageantry, and human affairs."—*The New Witness.*

"Vivid and interesting."—*Illustrated London News.*

JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD LTD., VIGO ST., W. 1

THE FUGGER NEWS-LETTERS

A Selection from the Correspondence of the
Merchant House of Fugger (1568-1605),
edited by VICTOR VON KLARWILL and translated
by PAULINE DE CHART, with a Foreword by
H GORDON SELFRIDGE

Second Edition

Illustrated,

Deeny 5/6.

16/ net.

No great business house can ever have been supplied with livelier news by their agents in foreign capitals than were the Fuggers.—ROBERT LYND in the *Daily News*

The Fugger News Letters is the most enjoyable book which I have come across for a long time. To read it is in effect to be reading old newspapers of the sixteenth century. These news-letters, written on the spot by contemporaries, retain their freshness and a peculiar quality of reality.—LEONARD WOOLF in the *Nation*

The student, the historian, the general reader will all find something of interest in this collection. Such a strange medley of events can scarcely be found elsewhere.—*Times Literary Supplement*.

These letters belong to one of the most interesting and exciting phases in the history of Europe and no narrative could give such a picture of its passions, its follies and its cares.—*Weekly Westminster*

These letters present a vivid and exciting picture of the time.—*Observer*

JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD LTD. 1760 ST. W.

THE FUGGER NEWS-LETTERS

(SECOND SERIES)

Being a further selection of letters from the papers of the Merchant House of Fugger in Augsburg recently discovered in the Vienna State Archives, referring to Queen Elizabeth and her times, specially collected and edited for this edition by VICTOR VON KLARWILL, editor of "The Fugger News-Letters," and translated by L. S. R. BYRNE. Uniform with "The Fugger News-Letters."

Illustrated. Demy 8vo. 18/- net.

So widespread was the interest aroused by the publication in English of "The Fugger News-Letters" that the Publishers at once arranged with the Editor to continue his researches into these fascinating papers with a view to producing another volume dealing exclusively with English affairs and particularly with the personality and actions of Queen Elizabeth. The result has exceeded all expectations, and readers of this Second Series of Fugger News-Letters have now placed before them a book of unique historical value, throwing an entirely new light on Elizabeth and her times from the point of view of the correspondents of the Fuggers of Augsburg, who, as the Rothschilds of the Middle Ages, made it their business to acquire accurate first-hand information of European affairs.

JOHN LANE THE BODLEY HEAD LTD., VIGO ST., W. 1

SHAKESPEARE'S FELLOWS

By G B HARRISON

Illustrated Crown 8vo 6/ net

The purpose of this book is to provide a background for the study of the early dramatists, to give a few pictures of Shakespeare's professional friends and rivals, to show some of their difficulties and adventures, and to portray in outline the world in which Elizabethan drama was brought to light

'Sound and useful'—*Times Literary Supplement*

Contains a great deal of information invaluable to every student of letters —*To-Day*

We could do with more of these sure-footed wanderings —*Spectator*

A very interesting chronicle of Shakespearean days a study of minor dramatists and of the personal side of the Elizabethan drama in general —*Bookman*

This is a book of real fascination alike to the student and to the general reader —*John o' London*

It is a well balanced useful book

Contemporary Review

There is noticeable freshness and originality in the selection and presentation of the material.

Notes and Queries

Mr G B Harrison attempts to revivify that golden age of English Literature confirms all we have imagined it to be Shakespeare's Fellows is as authentic a volume as a lifelong student can make it —*Clarion*

This is altogether an excellent book.

Manchester Guardian